

FROM DESPOTISM TO DEMOCRACY

A HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE
1789-1923

BY

H. L. WILLIAMSON, B.A.

SENIOR HISTORY MASTER, CARLISLE GRAMMAR SCHOOL



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PREFACE

THE Great World War has brought home to the people of these islands the significance and importance of continental politics. Our watchword now is "No more war," and it is well if we set ourselves to consider how we personally can help to prevent its repetition. Undoubtedly, we must begin by an attempt to understand the points of view of other nations, and for this a knowledge of European History is essential.

The aim of this book is to give a lucid and connected account of Europe from the French Revolution down to the present day. Social and economic aspects have been stressed as far as is possible in a political history. Colonization at the end of the last century has been given a chapter to itself, and its importance in view of later political developments emphasized. The main body of the history is written in narrative form, with all necessary details and explanations in the text, details which break the narrative being put in footnotes. The actual words used by the chief historical characters are introduced as frequently as possible, in the hope of encouraging imagination and a realization of history as a living drama. The endeavour has been to produce a vivid and interesting study as a basis for solid constructive work.

The book carries events down to the beginning of 1923, but the last chapter is necessarily less definite than the rest. The perspective of time is essential to form a true judgment of events, and the difficulty is made still greater by the unsettled state of affairs, both national and international, since the war. The sole aim of the last chapter has been to give as clear and detached a view as possible of the principal tendencies and events of the last few years.

H. L. W.

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FROM DESPOTISM TO DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER I

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

§ INTRODUCTION

EUROPE is a unity in diversity, and always has been, since the days of the ancient Roman Empire, when the various tribes were brought under a common rule. With the decline of the Empire in the West, the principle of unity was for a time submerged, but reasserted itself in the early Middle Ages when the Pope conferred the Imperial dignity on Charlemagne. From the inception of the Holy Roman Empire, we may regard Europe as a collection of states linked together by a common faith. They quarrelled among themselves, it is true, but the Church stood always before them as a reminder and symbol of their brotherhood. Europe was in fact Christendom, and the Pope exercised a moderating influence on the jealousies and injustices of kings and princes. The Modern Ages were ushered in by the Renaissance and Reformation, and by a commercial activity stimulated by the discovery of new trade routes. Consequently, this period was characterized by the birth and growth of nations with ambitions of their own, and resentful of any external authority. But the theory of the Balance of Power preserved the unity of Europe from the diverse tendencies fostered by national aggression and religious disintegration. In the nineteenth century we can discover the idea of unity underlying the Coalitions against an aggressive France, the congresses held after

the downfall of Napoleon, the treaties concerning the Eastern Question, and, in our own day, the League of Nations. On the other hand, the principle of nationality is seen working to its fruition in the Wars of Liberation, in the various national revolts against the European Settlement of 1815, and in the recently-declared right to self-determination possessed by the smaller nations.

The French Revolution marks a new period in the history of Europe. It was a movement very unlike the "bloodless Revolution" of 1688 in England, which merely transferred political power from the King to an oligarchy. France, a century later, swept away all ancient landmarks, and, in spite of the wild passions and incredible follies of the revolutionaries, evolved the democratic ideal. Henceforth we have three principles—Unity, Nationality, and Democracy—interacting one upon another, and a policy of "splendid isolation" becomes almost an impossibility, for the internal concerns of each State affect its external relations with other States.

§ THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

* *The Peasants.* At the end of the eighteenth century the rigours of feudal land-tenure still prevailed in France. The peasants, in some cases, were mere slaves, tied to the land of the lord. They were not even permitted to marry without his consent. In other cases they held land of their own, for which they rendered all manner of services and dues. Among these was the *Corvée*, or forced labour on the lord's land; gifts of fowls, sheep, and corn; and payments for the use of the lord's mill and wine-press, and for the upkeep of roads, bridges, and markets. Under the head of indirect taxation may be mentioned the *gabelle*, or salt-tax. They also paid half their profits in direct taxation to the State, and, by the time they had

contributed tithes to the clergy, scarcely one-fifth of their income remained to support themselves and their families.

It must be admitted, however, that the condition of the French peasantry was not worse, but rather better, than that of their brothers in other continental countries. Left to themselves they might never have risen in revolt, but a head was given them by the *bourgeoisie*.¹

The Bourgeoisie. This class consisted of the merchants, financiers, lawyers, doctors, and middle class generally, and upon it taxation fell with crushing force. France was bankrupt. The wars of the previous reigns had gone far towards exhausting the treasury, and the climax was reached during the War of American Independence.

The Nobles and Clergy. And yet, in face of national insolvency, the nobles and clergy steadily refused to bear their share of the burdens. They resisted successfully, even to their ruin and to that of the monarchy, all attempts at direct taxation.

The chief tax in France was the *taille*, a property tax originally levied on all who did not bear arms. The clergy, as non-fighters, had been exempted, and the nobles, because they provided the armed forces of the State at their own expense, had shared this privilege. With the advent of a regular standing army, about 1445, the nobles' duty ceased, yet they still insisted on their exemption. The cost of the army, and of all Government administration fell, therefore, on the third order. When the Revolution broke out, the nobles, generally speaking, had become dissolute and extravagant courtiers, who, except in La Vendée, absented themselves from their estates, thus adding to the poverty of the countryside. Furthermore, the practice had grown up of admitting the wealthy

¹ Similarly, in England, the revolt against the Stuarts had been the work of the squires, merchants, and lawyers in the House of Commons.

bourgeois into the ranks of the privileged on payment of a lump-sum to the King. This practice, while relieving present necessities, rendered bankruptcy inevitable by reducing the number of rich tax-payers.

The religious situation at the dawn of the Revolution was somewhat complicated. The peasantry and parish priests were, in the main, devout Catholics, but the town dwellers had lapsed into indifference, while in the ranks of the hierarchy scepticism was rife. The connection between Church and State was very close. By the action of the Crown, France had emerged from the Huguenot wars a Catholic State. Hence the bishops felt themselves bound up with the monarchy, and the Church became tinged with a somewhat narrow Gallicanism. The appointment of younger sons of the nobility to the chief ecclesiastical offices further identified the Church with the Court. The scandalous lives and open unbelief of many of these courtier-bishops were notorious, and but for the faith of the peasants and inferior clergy religion must have died out of the land.

The Court. The Court and its head had grown in disrepute, especially during the previous reign. Louis XVI, it is true, was an inoffensive, well-meaning man. He cared for his people and desired reforms, especially the curtailment of privileges. The people themselves felt this, and at first he was extremely popular. But he was weak and vacillating. More than once the monarchy might have been saved from humiliation and disaster had he been a man of spirit and determination. Marie Antoinette, the youthful Queen, was frivolous, uncomprehending, and self-willed. She flouted public opinion, and remained a Hapsburg to the end. Her very bearing, her childish irresponsibility, and her impulsive speech offended Court circles, accustomed to an exaggerated dignity and aloofness in the members of the reigning family. Later, disappointment and disaster after disaster changed the

Queen's early frivolity into an arrogant and haughty contempt, which embittered the revolutionaries against her.

She was accused of gross and wilful extravagance notwithstanding the cruel embarrassment of the country. The accusation was hardly just, but the Queen soon became popularly known as "L'Autrichienne" and "Madame Deficit." Hers was a piteous fate, but it must be admitted that she partly brought it on herself.

Literature. It is generally held that the writings of Voltaire were the first manifestations in literature of the destructive tendencies which were to culminate in the Revolution. Voltaire was not, however, opposed to monarchy; indeed, he looked to it to initiate reforms, and to sweep away abuses and class privileges. But, unwittingly, he undermined reverence for authority of any kind by attacking the Church and her traditions. In words sparkling with wit and venomous with sarcasm, he poured ridicule upon the hierarchy, and on ecclesiastical laws and customs. Once these were discredited, it followed as a matter of course that no authority was respected; everyone did, as far as he was able, what was right in his own eyes. But Voltaire's writings failed to grip the popular imagination. They appealed rather to the upper classes, who lost all sense of loyalty or social responsibility, and degenerated into selfish and arrogant parasites on the body politic.

Along with religious indifference there grew up an anti-national cosmopolitanism, a contempt for "the vulgar vice of patriotism."¹ This took firm root among the intellectuals of Europe. In a cold, critical age of pure reason, scholars, poets, and politicians prided themselves upon their superiority to "the heroic fallacy" of love of country,² and recognized all "Europe as their one true Fatherland."³

¹ Tom Paine. ² Lessing. ³ Fichte.

The writer above all others who influenced the Revolution was undoubtedly Rousseau. Turning from philosophic abstraction, the cold reasoning of the head, he touched the heart, and aroused sentiment by portraying the pitiable condition of the poor. His was a cry back to nature, a glorification of the untamed savage running wild in his native woods before civilization corrupted him, brought in inequality, and made him a slave. But Rousseau was not merely destructive. In his *Contrat Social* he drew a picture of a free man in a free state—a republic. He also maintained the need of a Dictator in times of national crisis, a doctrine which found its logical fulfilment in the positions occupied by Robespierre and Napoleon. From his teaching sprang the watchwords of the Revolution: Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Under the latter head was included, in popular form, the cosmopolitan idea. To the revolutionaries it meant a world-wide brotherhood of free peoples, and the extermination of princes and nobles.¹ These ideas were not confined to France. They spread over Europe, especially among the small feudal states of Germany, where secret societies of *Illuminati* were formed to propagate revolutionary principles and to correspond with their French brothers.

• § THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION

The financial condition of France was plain to all. Each year brought another deficit. In 1774 the young King, anxious about the state of his realm, called in Turgot, a convinced and courageous man, to control the finances of the country. The choice was a good one. Turgot stood for economy, but even this, though not sufficient in itself, the courtiers in their blind selfishness would not tolerate.

¹ In fierce language Diderot pictured the consummation, when the last King should be strangled with the entrails of the last priest.

When the minister went on to advocate free-trade within the kingdom, the merchants too cried out against him. The nobles strenuously resisted all attempts to impose direct taxation, and the Queen cast the weight of her influence into the same scale. The distracted King exclaimed, "Nobody loves my people but M. Turgot and myself," but he had to yield to the clamour, and dismiss Turgot. This victory for the privileged orders destroyed all hope of a revolution from above.

Necker, a Genevese banker, took Turgot's place. Necker had achieved a great reputation as a financier. While advocating economies, he lacked the courage of Turgot, and, rather than face the wrath of the upper classes, he tried to put a better complexion on the financial situation by raising loans and falsifying the accounts. During his tenure of office, France took the side of the American colonists in their struggle for independence. The cost of this adventure was so great that Necker could not cope with it, and in 1781 he resigned. After this, things went from bad to worse.

In 1787 the Marquis de Lafayette urged on the King the advisability of calling together the States-General. Lafayette had led the French troops in the War of American Independence, and had imbibed democratic ideas from the colonists. A sane and moderate reformer, he was a staunch upholder of the monarchy, but he made almost a fetish of parliamentary government, and was therefore distrusted by the Court.

The States-General. At length, in 1789, the States-General met at Versailles by the command of the King. This event is usually taken to mark the beginning of the Revolution.

The States-General had been obsolete for 175 years. Louis XIV would have none of it, and exclaimed haughtily, "I am the State." The indolent and evil-living Louis XV. had left the monarchy utterly disgraced. To those who

saw the approaching ruin of France he said callously, "It will last my time, after me the deluge."

The States-General consisted of deputies from the three estates—Clergy, Nobles, and Commons—voting separately. Their powers and procedure were almost forgotten, but the King now gave the third estate double representation, so that its voting power was equal to that of the two others combined. To render this concession effective, the third estate petitioned immediately on assembling that all three should vote together. The King, overborne by the Court party, temporized, and eventually decided against the petition. Taking matters into its own hands, the third estate declared itself the National Assembly, and invited the clergy and nobles to join it. About half the clergy and a few nobles did so. Obviously, there was a majority in favour of reform, which the King, with a little determination and tact, might have used to bring about a bloodless revolution.

The National and Constituent Assembly. The Assembly then set itself to draw up a Constitution for France, and therefore styled itself the Constituent Assembly. On 23rd June the King held a Royal Session, lectured the deputies, and told them that if they, as three estates, could not agree on the reforms he submitted to them, he himself would achieve the happiness of his people. He then retired, ordering the Assembly to do likewise. But the people's representatives were now determined on effecting reforms themselves, and were no longer content to accept them from above.

When the Court usher returned to see the King's command carried out, a cry was heard: "'We are assembled by the national will; force alone shall disperse us.'" The voice was the voice of Count Mirabeau, who, by the magic of his personality, was to lead the Assembly to the day of his death.

In such a crisis the ineptitude of the King was patent.

But the haughty Queen and the Court party despised conciliation in any shape or form. They continued to mass soldiers, chiefly German and Swiss mercenaries, around Versailles, and secured the dismissal of Necker, who had been reinstated the previous year. This man, though his popularity was undeserved, did at least disapprove of the uncompromising policy of the Queen.

• *Fall of the Bastille, 14th July, 1789.* When news of Necker's dismissal and of the military preparations became known in Paris, the mob rose in frantic excitement and stormed the Bastille, the French Guards helping with cannon. It has been said that revolutions only succeed when the army is disaffected. In this case the soldiers, at first secretly sympathizing, eventually made common cause with the people. Many of them had learnt something of liberty in America, and the monarchy could rely only on its bodyguard of nobles, and on foreign mercenaries. Many of the nobles, including the Comte d'Artois, the King's youngest brother, now left France.

• *The Peasants' Rising.* The Bastille was the State prison, in which men were imprisoned without trial, sometimes for life, by *lettres-de-cachet*, signed by a minister. Its lofty towers overhung Paris like a menace, and in the eyes of the people it stood as a symbol of the old régime. Its fall acted as a spark to ignite the smouldering spirit of revolt in the country. The peasants immediately threw themselves with torch and faggot on the chateaux of the lords, and massacred the inmates. Then, flocking to Paris, they swelled the ranks of the mob, already haunted by the gaunt spectre of starvation.

• *The National Guard and the Tricolour.* Lafayette organized a citizen guard—afterwards the National Guard—to keep order. Constitutionalist as he was, he united the Bourbon white with the revolutionary colours of blue and red, thus originating the famous tricolour for the national flag.

Meanwhile, Paris was starving. The cry was always

for "Bread, bread." A cynical minister, Foulon, who was reported to have said that the people "might eat grass," was murdered, and his head carried through the streets on a pike, the mouth stuffed with grass.

Paris was aflame, yet the Queen and courtiers were blind to the gravity of the situation. The Royal Flanders Regiment was summoned to Versailles. The King and Queen appeared among the officers as they were being entertained, and amid a scene of wild enthusiasm the song was raised—

"O Richard, O mon roi!
L'univers t'abandonne."

The officers tore the tricolour out of their hats, trampled it under foot, and replaced it by the white cockade. Reported in Paris, the scene aroused fierce resentment.

The Insurrection of Women, Oct., 1789. The women, accompanied by an armed rabble clamouring for bread, started for Versailles. The consequences might have been dire but that Lafayette, with the National Guard, came to the rescue of the Court. He cleared the Palace of the mob, which then took up its stand outside, howling for the King. On Lafayette's advice, he showed himself, and was fairly well received. Then cries went up for "L'Autrichienne" and "Madame Deficit." The Queen stepped out on the balcony, leading her children by the hand. "No children!" roared the crowd. She put them back, and stood with her hands on the balustrade, looking down with calm contempt on the surging crowd beneath. Muskets were raised, when Lafayette stepped forward, and, sinking on one knee, raised the Queen's hand to his lips. An unaccountable revulsion of feeling passed through the mob, weapons were lowered, and a cheer went up. The people were determined, however, to have the King, the Court, and the Assembly under their own eyes in Paris. It was thought wise to yield. The royal family set out in their coach surrounded by National

Guards, and accompanied by a howling mob dancing round fifty cart-loads of corn.

The King and Court were lodged in the Tuileries, where some semblance of state was kept up.

The Constitution of 1791. During 1790 the Constituent Assembly was busily engaged in completing the constitution. After much violent disputation, it finally took form as the *Constitution of 1791*.

1. It established one Legislative Assembly, elected by the tax-payers.

2. It enacted that the King should be nominal head of the Executive, with the power of *suspensive veto*, i.e. he could veto a bill for two sessions, but if passed again in a third session it became law.

3. It adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man, viz., Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. This involved the abolition of all titles, of feudal dues and services, and of tithes.

4. It divided up the ancient Provinces of France into eighty-three departments, with considerable powers of local government.

5. It set up a Civil Constitution for the clergy, and secularized Church property.

The clergy were forced to take an oath of obedience to the State, of which they were the salaried officials elected by the people. The result was a vast schism. No Catholic could recognize the supremacy of the State in place of that of the Pope, and two-thirds of the clergy suffered the loss of their benefices rather than take the oath. In many parts of the country, notably in Alsace and La Vendée, the people refused to attend the services of the new "constitutional clergy," and crowded the secret conventicles of the "non-juring priests."

At the same time, paper money was issued on the security of the confiscated church lands, but these *assignats* constantly decreased in value.

Mirabeau. Mirabeau, a convinced constitutional monarchist, was all but supreme in the Assembly, which he artfully strove to discredit by urging it on to unpopular acts. While leading violent attacks on the "non-jurings" priests, and therefore on the Court which accepted their ministrations alone, he was at the same time offering advice to the King. He despaired of the constitution,¹ and embraced the terrible alternative of civil war. He urged the King and Queen to leave Paris, and raise the royal standard at Compiègne or Rouen, where the *émigrés* and the army of the east could easily join them. Numbers of people in the provinces, wounded in their religious beliefs by the civil constitution of the clergy, would rally round them. Paris, he hoped, would not fight, but, if it did, it could be conquered. He pictured the Queen (the King was of little account) on horseback with her son, a second Maria Theresa, followed with enthusiasm to certain victory. It was a bold plan and might have succeeded, but the Court found it difficult to trust Mirabeau. For at the same time as he was giving this advice to royalty he was playing the demagogue in the Assembly, flattering the extremists, and speaking with their voice." So, month after month, the execution of his plan was postponed, until it was too late. Mirabeau was suddenly stricken with mortal disease. On 2nd April, 1791, he died, with the prophetic words on his lips, "I carry in my heart the death dirge of the French monarchy."

The Royal Flight. In the following June the royal family attempted to escape from Paris. But the plan of Mirabeau had been given up. The Queen had never viewed it with enthusiasm. She placed little value on her crown, and cared even less for France as a nation." Her troubles had driven her to seek consolation in the devout.

c. ¹ "It is clear that we are perishing, royalty, authority, the whole nation. The Assembly is killing itself and us with it." So he wrote to the King.

practices of the Catholic faith, while her chief anxiety was for the safety of her children, to whom she was passionately devoted. Safety, not, victory, was now the end in view.

The details of the flight were carefully planned, but the King's lethargy and inability to realize the importance of keeping strictly to the arranged time-table ruined the project. He was late in starting, and lost more and more time at each posting-house. Disguised as a footman, he carelessly exposed himself to the scrutiny of curious eyes. He even accepted without protest covert acts of homage from a few royalists who recognized him on the road. Little wonder then that wild rumours spread throughout the countryside, and even outstripped the fugitives.

Arriving at Varennes, they found the road barred. Drouet, the postmaster at the last stage, had recognized the King, and, taking a short cut through a forest, had reached Varennes first. There he warned the mayor, and blocked the narrow village bridge with a farmer's waggon. A troop of Hussars—German mercenaries—sent from Montmédy, had left the village only fifteen minutes before, having waited there for the royal party four hours beyond the appointed time. Those few minutes made all the difference between success and failure. Next day commissioners from the Assembly arrived and compelled the fugitives to return to Paris, where they were received in ominous silence. The confidence of the populace in the King's sincerity was dead.

§ INCREASED REVOLUTIONARY FEELING

From that moment, the Revolution took a new course, and the extreme party began to dominate the situation. For the first time the deposition of the King and the establishment of a republic were openly and seriously contemplated.

From his obscure garret the fanatic Marat poured

forth a stream of violent and obscene pamphlets, breathing hatred of all classes save the *sans-culotte*.

Danton of the Cordeliers' Club combined honesty of conviction with violence of speech. A huge man, wild and unkempt, he held the mob in the hollow of his hand, moving it to laughter and ridicule, or to tears of frenzy, as he willed.

Robespierre, of the Jacobin Club,¹ was the most dangerous of all. Clever, vain, envious, persevering, and unscrupulous, he forced his way to the front until he became the most trusted champion of the Revolution—"the incorruptible." He had gained a thorough mastery of the doctrines of Rousseau, which he constantly expounded, and carried to an extreme, if logical, conclusion. In contrast with Danton and most of the "patriots," he was the dandy of the Revolution, neat and immaculate in his dress and person.

Associated respectively with Danton and with Robespierre were Camille Desmoulins and Louis Philippe, cousin of the King. The former was a journalist, who, by his clever and witty writings, exercised a great influence on the course of the Revolution. The latter posed as an extremist, ignored his title of Duc d'Orléans, taking instead the name of Philippe Egalité, and constantly intrigued against his royal cousin in the vain hope of being chosen himself as king.

The Declaration of Pillnitz. A cause contributory to the growing power of the extremists was the action of foreign powers. For half a century, hostile feeling had been continuous between Austria and Prussia,² but after

¹ This Club met in the old Jacobins' Convent in Paris, and having branches in all the Departments, was very powerful.

² Frederick the Great had treacherously wrested Silesia from Maria Theresa, and Prussia had recently supported an insurrection in the Austrian Netherlands. Both Powers were now jealously watching each other and Russia, with a view to the seizure of Poland.

the Varennes failure the cause of Monarchy, against Revolution drew them together in an unstable alliance. Leopold II of Austria prevailed upon Frederick William II of Prussia to join with him in issuing the Declaration of Pillnitz (August, 1791), threatening the French with armed intervention on behalf of his sister, Marie Antoinette, and her husband. At the same time, an appeal was made to all monarchical governments to unite in crushing the dangerous revolution. But Britain as yet looked with favour on the cause of liberty in France, and maintained an attitude of strict neutrality, while the mutual jealousies of the other powers turned the Declaration into "one of the *comédies augustes* of history."¹

The Legislative Assembly. In October, 1791, the new Legislative Assembly, elected under the terms of the Constitution,² held its first sitting. By a self-denying ordinance, the members of the Constituent Assembly had made themselves ineligible for election to the new body. As a result, the Assembly consisted of new and untried men, mere amateurs in parliamentary procedure and debate, and the unruly elements in Paris had it all their own way. The mob thronged the galleries and refused a hearing to any but the most violent and extreme orators. In the Assembly were three parties—a small number of Royalists, a larger body of Constitutionalists, and a majority of Republicans. The extremists of the clubs occupied the highest seats in the hall, and were therefore called the *Mountain*, while the rest of the gathering went by the name of the *Plain*. The most prominent members of the Assembly were a group of young orators known as the Girondins, since three of their leaders hailed from the Gironde. They were men of culture and of lofty ideals, as enthusiastic for republican principles as the men

¹ A. Hassel, *France, Mediaeval and Modern*.

² The King had been forced to confirm the Constitution on his return from Varennes.

of the *Mountain*. But whereas the latter shrank from no extreme, however terrible, "the Girondins drew back with a cry of horror from the river of blood" which was soon to stain the land.

One of the first acts of the Assembly was the annexation of Avignon, which for centuries had belonged to the Pope. Opposition was crushed by a massacre of the papalists in Avignon.

War With Austria. In April, 1792, after heated debates, a Girondin ministry compelled the King reluctantly to declare war on Francis II, who, in the previous month, had succeeded Leopold II.¹ Hatred of Austria inspired the ministry, and the constitutionalists supported it in the hope of allaying the spirit of faction at home by uniting the nation against a "foreign tyrant." But, as the ambitious Girondin Brissot afterwards admitted, they also "sought in the war an opportunity to set traps for Louis XVI, and to expose his relations with the emigrant nobles."

Thus, for party purposes, the Girondins light-heartedly provoked a war which in turn aroused a spirit of unreasoning terror, and swept them, and other more innocent victims, to the guillotine.

The French immediately invaded the Austrian Netherlands, and were everywhere hailed by the Belgians as deliverers. In the first skirmish, panic seized the raw levies of the revolutionaries. They hanged their commander and fled precipitately, but the Austrians, with a disaffected province behind them, dared not follow up their success.

Riots in Paris. Paris took alarm, and the Girondin ministry immediately disbanded the King's royal guard, and established a camp of 20,000 revolutionaries from

¹ Danton and Robespierre opposed the war as inimical to the interests of the people, but could prevail nothing against the war-fever which swept over the country.

the departments outside Paris. It also decreed the banishment of all "non-juring" priests (June, 1792). When the King vetoed both decrees, riots broke out, and Lafayette, leaving his command on the Flanders front, hastened to Paris in the hope of restraining *jacobin* anarchy and restoring some semblance of order. But the Court distrusted him, and the Assembly censured him for deserting his post without leave. Fearing arrest, he fled across the frontier, only to fall into the hands of the Austrians, who placed him in close confinement in the fortress of Olmütz.

The Brunswick Manifesto. On 24th July, 1792, Prussia declared war, and the Duke of Brunswick, urged on by the *émigré* nobles, issued his famous manifesto threatening, in the event of interference with the monarchy, military execution to all concerned.

The Commune. In the panic which ensued, the municipal authorities were turned out; the mob, led by Danton and Marat, set up the terrible Commune, and, recruited by the Marseillaise,¹ who marched into Paris at this moment, proceeded to attack the Tuileries. The indecision of the King lost the day. Napoleon Bonaparte, probably an eye-witness, was of the opinion that had Louis shown himself on horseback before the Palace, his troops would have scattered the mob. But with mistaken chivalry he shrank from shedding French blood in his own defence. When urged by the Queen to assert himself, he said sadly, "Let us go." With his family, the Queen scornfully defiant, he sought refuge with the Assembly, whence he sent an order to his brave Swiss Guards, who had successfully charged the mob, to cease fire and retire to their barracks. Pursued by the mob, who surged into the Palace

¹ After the flight of Lafayette, a deputy of Marseilles had appealed for "500 men who knew how to die." Foot-sore, ragged, and weary, dragging their rusty cannons, they arrived in Paris, singing their wild chant, which, under the name of La Marseillaise became the national anthem of France.

on their heels, they were massacred to a man. The last vestige of kingly authority was gone, and the Royal Family was lodged in the Temple prison, "for its own safety."

The September Massacres. The Prussians and Austrians now advanced and the Vendéans took up arms "for God and the King." Danton alone was undismayed. With his cry, "We must dare, dare, always dare. We must strike terror into the Royalists," he inflamed the populace beyond all bounds.

With terror and hatred in their hearts the *sans-culottes* began a massacre which lasted three days. The prisons were choked with suspects; they must be brought to trial, and the gaols purged that they might be refilled. Anyone who could not prove himself a revolutionary was pushed through the doors of the Hall of Judgment into the street, there to be piked, clubbed, or hacked to pieces by the howling mob. Delicate women fared no better than men. One of Marie Antoinette's dearest friends, the Princesse de Lamballe, was among the victims. Her head, stuck on a pike, was waved before the window of the Queen's apartment in the Temple.

Valmy. While the civilians were disgracing themselves with horrible deeds in Paris, the army, so recently panic-stricken and mutinous, was covering itself with glory on the frontier. The Prussians had taken Verdun and were advancing westwards when Generals Dumouriez and Kellerman took up a position on the heights of Valmy in their rear. Brunswick faced round, and one of the decisive battles of history ensued (20th September). The French unexpectedly stood firm, and the Prussians, advancing through marshy ground, were met by deadly volleys and checked. Brunswick lacked the bold offensive spirit, and his troops were suffering from famine and dysentery. Though the battle had been little more than an opening cannonade, the Prussian leader made an agreement with

Dumouriez to suspend hostilities, and retired beyond the frontier.

The victory had a magical effect on the French levies. A small force made a rapid advance to Mainz and Frankfurt, welcomed everywhere by the German *Illuminati*. The main army under Dumouriez penetrated the Austrian Netherlands, and decisively routed the Austrians at Jemmappes (6th November). At the end of the same month Savoy and Nice were overrun, to the intense satisfaction of the inhabitants, especially of the Savoyards, who were almost entirely French, and enthusiastic for the revolutionary ideals of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

It is probable that the action of Russia contributed to these successes. No sooner had France and Austria come to blows than Catherine II ordered an invasion of Poland. Prussia was casting covetous eyes on Dantzic and Thorn, while Austria also wanted her share of the Polish spoils. Hence, as Dr. Rose points out, "the prospect of a partition of Poland undoubtedly helped to lessen the pressure on France during the campaign of Valmy."

CHAPTER II

THE REVOLUTION TRIUMPHANT

§ THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AND THE REIGN OF 'TERROR.

Two days after Valmy a National Convention met in Paris for the purpose of revising the Constitution. It deposed the King, set up a Republic, and adopted a new calendar. The year was to begin on 22nd September, and to be divided into twelve equal months of three decades each, with a day of rest every ten days instead of every seven. This arrangement provided for 360 days. The remainder, called *Sans-culottides*, were holidays.¹ A decimal system of weights and measures was also adopted.

The Opening of the Scheldt. The Convention proceeded to declare the Scheldt open to all nations (16th November), and French warships straightway sailed up the river to assist in an attack on Antwerp. England was bound by treaty to uphold the exclusive right of Holland over the Scheldt. Pitt at once declared that Britain would oppose a French invasion of Holland. A rupture between the two countries was inevitable, for the French Government dared not recall its victorious army into impoverished France. The Convention was reckless, and, three days later, it published the decree, "that all

¹ The months were named as follows :

Vendémiaire, Sept. 22–Oct. 21
Brumaire, Oct. 22–Nov. 20
Frumaire, Nov. 21–Dec. 20
Nivose, Dec. 21–Jan. 19
Pluviose, Jan. 20–Feb. 18
Ventose, Feb. 19–Mar. 20

Germinal, Mar. 21–Apl. 19
Floreale, Apl. 20–May 19
Prairial, May 20–June 18
Messidor, June 19–July 18
Thermidor, July 19–Aug. 17
Fructidor, Aug. 18–Sept. 16

governments are our enemies, all peoples our friends." Not content with this, it declared in the following month that "France will treat as an enemy the people which refuses to accept liberty and equality, and tolerates its prince and privileged castes." Here was fraternity at the point of the bayonet! In short the Assembly forced on the war "in order to get rid of 300,000 brigands, who ought not to be allowed to re-enter France."

Girondins and Jacobins. The advent of the National Convention was no less a disaster to the Girondins than to the Royalists. The former retained, it is true, a majority of votes, but they were no match for the *Mountain*, backed by the Paris mob. They failed in their attempt to punish the September murderers, and further discredited themselves by futile attacks on Danton and Robespierre, who in turn accused them of trying to break up "the Republic, one and indivisible."

The growing opinion that the safety of the Republic demanded the death of the King provided the *Mountain* with a weapon ready for use against the *Plain*. The Girondins shrank from regicide, and proposed an appeal to the nation, but all in vain. "Your party is ruined," was the whispered comment of Danton. The King was put on his trial before the Convention, and, on the vote being taken openly, member by member, most of the Girondins, overawed by the mob in the galleries, voted for death.

The King's Execution. The following morning (21st January, 1793) the King was guillotined. Advancing to the edge of the scaffold, he said, "I pray Heaven that the blood you are going to shed may not be on the head of France." A hoarse word of command and a roll of drums drowned what was to follow. The knife did the rest, and the troubles of the generous but sadly incapable monarch were at an end. A wave of horror surged over Europe when the deed became known, but the revolutionaries

were undismayed. "We have burnt our boats behind us," cried M^{ar}at, while Danton thundered in the Assembly "the kings of Europe threaten us; let us hurl at their feet, as gage of battle, the head of a king."

England and the Revolution. At first the revolutionary movement in France met with much sympathy in England, and the fall of the Bastille was hailed with delight. On the one hand, liberal opinion welcomed the revolution as another victory for liberty, akin to the expulsion of the Stuarts in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, selfish patriots rejoiced at any event likely to weaken France. But gradually, as horror was added to horror, sympathy changed to anger and disgust. Edmund Burke stimulated these feelings by his Celtic eloquence, and by his book, *Reflections on the French Revolution*. Charles James Fox, it is true, still upheld "the cause of freedom," while Tom Paine, in his *Rights of Man*, vehemently defended the revolutionaries.

The aggressive tone of the National Convention, and, especially the opening of the Scheldt, raised war-clouds between France and Britain. With the execution of the King, the storm burst. The British ambassador immediately left Paris, and the French representative was ordered to quit England.

On 1st February, 1793, the Convention declared war on Britain and Holland, and a month later on Spain. France had now to face the First Coalition of the Powers; viz., Britain, Holland, Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Sardinia.

Defection of Dumouriez. The campaign opened disastrously for the French. Dumouriez was defeated at Neerwinden, France was invaded, and Valenciennes captured. Dumouriez had strongly disapproved of the aggressive foreign policy of the Convention. Girondin in sympathy, he had hoped to establish a chain of free and friendly republics on the frontiers of France, but the Government's harsh treatment of the "liberated"

Belgians¹ foiled his plan. The sanguinary excesses in Paris disgusted him, and he now entered into secret negotiations with the enemy in the hope of overthrowing the regicides and of restoring the monarchy, in the person of Louis Philippe, son of Philippe Egalité. When Commissioners were sent to summon him to Paris, he boldly placed them under arrest, but, finding that the army would not support him, he crossed the frontier with Louis Philippe and 800 men.

His defection still further discredited the Girondins, and on 2nd June, 1793, the *Mountain*, aided by 20,000 armed Jacobins, overthrew them.

The Committee of Public Safety. A Committee of Public Safety, composed of ten members of the Convention, virtually usurped all the powers of the State, and a Revolutionary Tribunal was set up for the trial of "suspects." Twenty-two Girondins, including Brissot, the layer of traps for Royalty, were arrested and imprisoned; the remainder fled to organize opposition in the country. Risings similar to that in La Vendée occurred in Caen, Bordeaux, Lyons, and Nantes, while Toulon welcomed a British fleet.

The Vendéans were specially troublesome. They were devout Catholics, and lord and peasant alike lived simple, pious lives in which there was no note of discord. In the densely-wooded country the republican armies were again and again routed by the sturdy peasants, but at length gained the upper hand.

In Caen, the revolt was easily put down, but from that town Charlotte Corday, a young girl, grim of purpose, came to Paris. There she implored an audience with the bloodthirsty Marat, and, seizing her opportunity, stabbed

¹ The revolt of the Belgians against Austria had been nationalist and conservative, and, though they welcomed the French as liberators, they had no sympathy with the irreligion or the democratic ideals of the revolutionaries. They soon tired of French domination with all that it entailed—oppressive taxation, forced acceptance of worthless *assignats*, and the destruction of their church,

him. When examined, she simply said, "I have killed one man to save a hundred thousand," and met her death by the guillotine with quiet fortitude.

In Bordeaux, scores of Girondins, including the famous Guadet, were guillotined. Fierce vengeance fell on Lyons, where the gutters ran red with blood. Its name was blotted out, and it became *Commune Affranchie* (Freetown). At Nantes, the horrible "Marriages of the Loire" took place; men and women tied together were cast into the river to drown. All the priests of the town were battened down below decks in a ship, which was then scuttled and cast adrift.

Thus did the provinces of France experience the Reign of Terror instituted by the Committee of Public Safety.

The Queen's Execution. In October the Queen was put on trial. Fouquier-Tinville, the merciless Public Prosecutor, passing lightly over several impossible charges, laid stress upon the prisoner's undoubted communications with the enemy, and ultimately secured the desired verdict of "Guilty."

With queenly dignity, unruffled by the insults of the mob, Maria Theresa's unfortunate daughter went to her doom, receiving absolution as she passed along from a "non-juring" priest, concealed by previous arrangement behind a casement.

Some twenty months later, the poor little Dauphin, "Louis XVII," died in prison, worn out by the brutality of his gaolers.

Numerous Executions. Madame Roland, an ardent republican, and the inspiration of the Girondin group,¹ soon followed the Queen to the block, and her husband, on learning her fate, committed suicide.

The twenty-two imprisoned Girondins were then put on

¹ Another remarkable woman in the Girondin councils was Madame de Staël, who, however, succeeded in escaping to Switzerland.

trial. Vergniaud's eloquent oratory, which he used with telling effect, was peremptorily cut short by a palpable violation of law and decency, and all were condemned. They went under the knife, singing the Marseillaise in a gradually diminishing chorus as head after head fell (20th October). Early in November Philippe Egalité, in spite of his avowed *jacobin* principles, met his just doom on the scaffold, to which he had himself voted his royal cousin.

Madame Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVI, and a host of others were executed. The Tribunal, with curious impartiality, included in one and the same doom royalists, constitutionalists, and republicans, unsuccessful generals, cautious politicals, and too-retiring civilians; anyone, in short, who did not commit himself irrevocably to the wild orgy of revolution.

The Goddess of Reason. The year 1794 witnessed the downfall, one after another, of the chief revolutionaries. Robespierre, aiming at supreme power, began by attacking Hébert, who had succeeded in abolishing the outward observance of religion. A painted actress was set on high in Notre Dame as Goddess of Reason, bearing a huge torch as the symbol of the light of philosophy. A horrible orgy followed, in which members of the Convention danced the *carmagnole* in the sacred edifice, with wantons arrayed in sacerdotal vestments. "Constitutional" bishops and priests were deposed, the churches pillaged, the sacred vessels and church bells melted, and steeples, as symbols of inequality, destroyed. The tombs of the kings of France were violated, and their bones cast into a common pit. Robespierre was scandalized.¹ He still clung to a belief in a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul. Supported by Danton, he accused the Hébertists of degrading the Republic, and caused the whole godless and obscene gang to be guillotined (March, 1794).

¹ His master, Rousseau, had maintained that atheists, as enemies of the community, ought to be suppressed.

Fall of Danton. Danton, among early revolutionaries the fiercest of the fierce, had latterly become moderate. In his judgment, the removal of the King had ensured the safety of the Revolution, and the time had come for milder methods. "It is right," he said, "to suppress the royalists, but we should not strike except where it is useful to the Republic; we should not confound the innocent and the guilty." But moderation was now a crime, and Danton's party was scathingly nicknamed "the indulgents." He was the one statesman left in France who might have guided the country into safe paths. A collision between him and Robespierre was inevitable. Accused by his astute rival of complicity with Dumouriez and the Orleanists, Danton flung in his teeth the scornful retort, "You condemn to death your own enemies." "No," replied Robespierre, "and the proof is that *you* still live." On a warrant of the Committee of Public Safety, Danton was thrown into the Luxembourg, to the astonishment of the prisoners confined there. "Messieurs," said Danton politely, "I hoped soon to have got you all out of this, but here I am myself, and one sees not where it will end."

Fouquier-Tinville had the greatest difficulty in obtaining a verdict of "guilty," so powerful was Danton's defence. On 5th April, with Desmoulins and many others, he was guillotined, conducting himself bravely to the end. "He had many sins, but one worst sin he had not, that of cant. With all his dross he was a man. He saved France from Brunswick, he walked straight his own wild road whither it led him. He may live for some generations in the memory of men"; so Carlyle writes his epitaph.

Robespierre Supreme. Robespierre was now without a rival. He decreed the worship of the Supreme Being, and had the effrontery to officiate as high priest at the inaugurating ceremony.

His overweening ambition had gradually changed his character. In his early days, he had resigned his judgeship

at Arras rather than condemn a criminal to death ; now, without a qualm, he sent hundreds to their doom. Under him the Terror reached its climax¹ ; head after head fell, till men looked fearfully on one another. No one knew whose turn would come next. Robespierre daily drew up a list of " suspects," whose condemnation followed as a matter of course.

" *Fall of Robespierre.* At length the people grew sick of the slaughter. A conspiracy, headed by Tallien, the friend of Danton, was hatched in the truncated Convention. A day or two later, when Robespierre ascended the Tribune, a wild tumult arose. Gasping, he clutched at his throat. " The blood of Danton chokes him," cried the conspirators. Arrest followed, and after an unsuccessful attempt at rescue he was carried to the guillotine amid universal rejoicing (28th July, 1794—Thermidor 10, Year 2). With his death the Reign of Terror ended.

" *The Thermidor Reaction.* By the " Thermidor Reaction," the Convention regained its authority, and the Commune and the Jacobin Club were suppressed. Two revolts of *Sans-culottes* in April and May, 1795, were crushed, and the Convention then repealed the law against " suspects," and abolished the Revolutionary Tribunal. The infamous Fouquier-Tinville, who had hurried so many innocent victims along their *via dolorosa* to the guillotine, himself went the same road in May, 1795. Many Terrorists met a like fate, especially in the south, where for a while a " White Terror " prevailed.

§ THE WAR OF THE FIRST COALITION TO THE TREATIES OF BASLE

We have seen (p. 22) that the Allies achieved considerable success at the beginning of 1793. Valenciennes was

¹ He introduced the Law of Prairial to speed up condemnations by refusing evidence for the defence.

within twelve marches of Paris, and with determination and enterprise the capital might have been occupied. But there was no unity of command, and, as a contemporary said, "the allies wanted to hunt the sheep before killing the dog." Each thought solely of her own interests. The British laid siege to Dunkirk instead of co-operating with the Austrians at Valenciennes.

The Second Partition of Poland, 1793. Prussia pursued an utterly selfish policy, and withdrew part of her troops for an invasion of Poland. This resulted in the Second Partition of that unfortunate country, by which Prussia obtained Dantzic, Thorn, and Posen, while Russia took Lithuania, Podolia, and the Ukraine. Austria immediately demanded compensations in Alsace and Bavaria, but the latter refused to send troops against France unless her integrity was guaranteed, and Britain joined Prussia in supporting her against their ally. While these mutual jealousies handicapped the Allies, the French nation showed a vigour and determination which was wholly unexpected.

After the defection of Dumouriez, Carnot, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, called for a *levée en masse*, to which the people responded with enthusiasm. The army was reorganized, and a new strategy developed.

French Victories. The Allies were soon decisively checked on the Flanders front, and, in the south, Toulon was captured, chiefly through the tactics of Napoleon Bonaparte, then a young artillery officer.

On Christmas Day, the lines of Weissenburg in Alsace were stormed, and the enemy driven across the Rhine. In the summer of 1794 Jourdan completely routed the Austrians in the great battle of Fleurus. In October, he entered Coblenz and occupied the whole left bank of the Rhine. During the winter, Pichegru and Macdonald overran Holland, to the great satisfaction of the Dutch democrats. The Duke of York retreated to Hanover and

re-embarked for England (January, 1795), whither he was soon followed by the Stadtholder. Holland became the Batavian Republic under French protection, and the new Government at once surrendered the Dutch fleet.¹

In the south, the Sardinians were driven across the Alps, while another French army forced the Pyrenees and drove the Spaniards back to the Ebro.²

At length the dream of the Grand Monarch was realized, and by those who had overthrown his House. "The natural frontiers of France"—the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees—were reached.

Third Partition of Poland. In the meantime, the Polish patriot, Kosciusko, had made a last desperate effort to free his country. The weakness of the Poles was due to the fact that the serfs felt that no foreign yoke could be worse than the tyranny of their own lords. Kosciusko had served under Washington in America, and, like Lafayette, had learnt democratic principles. He prevailed on the nobles to make wise concessions to the serfs, and succeeded in uniting his countrymen against the foreign oppressor. In 1794 the Prussians were almost driven out when the Russians, under the terrible Suvóroff, arrived. Kosciusko's army was routed and he himself wounded and taken prisoner. The Praga suburb of Warsaw was stormed, the defenders were massacred, and with the fall of the

¹ It is nothing more than a picturesque fable that the fleet, ice-bound in the Texel during the severe frost of January, 1795, was captured by a French cavalry raid.

² These victories were due partly to the organizing genius of Carnot, and partly to the fierce punishment meted out to unsuccessful leaders. General Houchard, who forced the Duke of York to raise the siege of Dunkirk, was nevertheless guillotined for failing to pursue the retreating British. General Custine, who was responsible for the rapid advance to Frankfurt after Valmy, met a like fate when, transferred to the Flanders front, he failed to achieve victory. Both were capable leaders, but they received no more consideration than the incompetent. The Republic had been made *à coups de guillotine*; now the generals were given the choice, "victory or the guillotine."

capital the end came. Poland was partitioned for the third time. Russia extended her frontiers to the Niemen and the Bug, Austria got West Galicia, while Prussia secured New East Prussia and Warsaw. By the successive partitions Russia absorbed roughly half of Poland, and the other two Powers one quarter each.

The First Coalition Breaks up. Not content with these gains and deeply jealous of Austria, who had gained so much without fighting, Prussia now basely deserted the allies and made a separate peace with France.

But indeed, the effete Coalition was breaking up, and the Prussian defection was the first step in its disintegration. By the Treaties of Basle, Prussia in April, Holland in May, and Spain in July, 1795, made peace. The Republican Government of Holland was already friendly to France, and monarchical Spain, jealous of Britain's sea-power, soon became her active ally.

British Sea-power. Britain and Austria were now left to carry on the war alone, for Sardinia, though still in arms, counted for little or nothing. On land, Britain, after York's retreat, was content with paying a subsidy of £5,000,000 to the Emperor to enable him to maintain his armies. But at sea she bore the whole brunt of the conflict.

In 1794, the Convention had made a great effort to gain command of the sea, and fitted out a fleet of twenty-six large ships at Brest, but Lord Howe utterly defeated it in the Atlantic in a battle known as "the Glorious First of June." Soon the might of Britain's fleet was to be even more signally vindicated.

CHAPTER III

THE DIRECTORY

§ DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

TOWARDS the end of 1795 the Convention completed its revision of the Constitution. The executive was to be in the hands of five Directors. Legislative powers were given to two councils, one-third of the members of each to be elected yearly. The Council of Five Hundred was to propose laws, the Council of the Ancients (250 men over 45 years of age) to examine and pass them. One last proposal, viz., that two-thirds of these Councillors must be chosen from members of the existing Convention, roused the fierce resentment of all upholders of electoral freedom. On 5th October, 40,000 men, mostly National Guards, rose in revolt. Barras, one of the nominated Directors, saved the situation.

The Whiff of Grape-shot. Knowing Bonaparte to be a man of inflexible will, he charged him with the maintenance of order. The grim little artillery officer poured grape-shot into the crowd, which speedily melted away. On 26th October, 1795, the Convention¹ brought its labours to a close, and the Directory took its place.

Troubles of the Directory. Two of the Directors, Barras, Chief of the Police, and Carnot, "the organizer of victory," were remarkably able men. The Directory was, however, a cumbrous form of government, and there were many difficult problems awaiting solution.

The *assignats* had sunk so far beneath their face value as to be almost valueless, and food was excessively dear.

¹ To ensure the more equal distribution of wealth, the Convention had made a law that all children should share equally the property of their deceased father. This was afterwards slightly modified by the *Code Napoléon* (p. 49).

Revolution, that panacea for all evils, had failed to better the conditions of life for the town dwellers. Consequently, there was much disaffection. At the same time, two forces made for stability in the country: (1) the wonderful revival of Catholicism, and (2) the peasant proprietorship of the land.

In 30,000 parishes the people returned with enthusiasm to the old religion, and communicants thronged the churches during the Easter festival of 1796. Catholicism stood traditionally for law and order, and its monarchical tendencies were counterbalanced by the peasants, who, having now a stake in the country, were loath to upset a settled, orderly government and return to the Bourbon régime.

Coup d'état of Fructidor. But the Government was far from settled. In the 1797 elections a royalist majority was returned. The Directors were saved only by the *coup d'état* of 18th Fructidor (4th September); 12,000 soldiers, purged the councils of royalists, fifty-three of whom, including General Pichegru, who contemplated following the example of Dumouriez, were condemned to transportation to Cayenne. Carnot disapproved of this violent act, and saved himself by flight.

• *Repudiation of the National Debt.* The royalists were crushed, but things were no better. The Directors entered upon two years of fierce persecution of Catholicism. Churches in Paris were seized, Sunday labour was enforced, and non-observance of the *Décadi*—the tenth day of rest—severely punished. In the country the Government was powerless to preserve order; bands of brigands roamed the highways; a severe conscription law roused determined opposition, which was met by taking hostages from the districts affected¹; and the climax was reached when the

¹ The Bretons, in particular, adopted so-called *chouannerie* (brigandage). Men of military age left their homes, and, armed to the teeth, roamed through the forests, a terror to their enemies.

Directors declared the country insolvent and repudiated two thirds of the national debt (1799). Disaster to the arms of France was all that was needed to hurl the Directory to its downfall.¹ But as yet this was not in sight.

During the first two years of the Directory, not France only, but Europe also, was electrified by Bonaparte's wonderful campaign in Italy, which brought Austria to her knees.

§ THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1796-7

The Divisions of Italy. Italy was particularly vulnerable, split up as it was into many small states. First across the French frontier came Piedmont, which, with Sardinia, Savoy, and Nice, made up the kingdom of Sardinia. Genoa was a small republic on the coast. Lombardy, next to Piedmont, was included in the Austrian province of Milan, separated from Tuscany on the south (where an Austrian prince ruled) by the tiny states of Parma, Lucca, and Modena. The Venetian Republic was the eastern neighbour of Lombardy, with the Papal States to the south. A Spanish Bourbon prince, Ferdinand IV, ruled autocratically over Naples and Sicily, i.e. over the southern half of Italy. (See map, p. 160.)

Bonaparte Appointed to the Army of Italy. Bonaparte's services at Toulon (1793), the "whiff of grape-shot" by which he saved the Convention (1795) and earned the gratitude of Barras, his marriage with the fascinating young

¹ And yet its early promise had been great. Madame de Stael writes of the years 1795-7: "The old landlords lived quietly side by side with the buyers of the land confiscated by the nation: the roads in the country became safe: the armies were only too victorious: liberty of the press was restored: and one could have called France a free country, if the two classes of nobles and priests had enjoyed the same guarantees as other citizens."

widow Josephine de Beauharnais,¹ and, above all, the discernment of Carnot procured for him the command of the Italian expedition. "Advance this man," said Barras to his fellow Directors, "or he will advance himself without you."

Sardinia Makes Peace. Bonaparte, with a shrewdness beyond his twenty-seven years, quickly grasped the situation. The Austrians and Sardinians held a pass between the Maritime Alps and the Apennines, north of the seaport of Savona, already in French possession. In one marvellous fortnight, Bonaparte drove a wedge between the allies, defeating the Austrians three times, and the Sardinians twice, and compelling the latter to sue for peace. Making a virtue of necessity, they recognized the accomplished fact of the annexation of Savoy and Nice by France (April, 1796).

The Bridge of Lodi. Turning again on the Austrians, who were endeavouring to cover Milan, Bonaparte defeated them at the Bridge of Lodi.² Milan was occupied, the enemy driven right across Lombardy, and Mantua invested. But, about the same time, the Archduke Charles, a capable leader, fell suddenly on Jourdan, who was marching to join Moreau in Bavaria, and drove him pell mell back to the Rhine. This relieved the pressure on the Rhine front, and large reinforcements were poured into Lombardy in the hope of saving Mantua.

Fall of Mantua. Bonaparte defeated the relieving

¹ Josephine's first husband, a republican general, had been guillotined, and Josephine herself imprisoned by Robespierre. In prison she formed a friendship with the future Madame Tallien, who, after their release on the downfall of Robespierre, introduced her to Tallien's friends. Josephine gained a great influence over Barras, but it is certainly more than an exaggeration to say that Barras gave Bonaparte the Italian command as a dowry for Josephine.

² It was here that Bonaparte gained from his soldiers the title of *le petit caporal*. "It was a strange sight to see him on the bridge; mixed up with his tall Grenadiers he looked a mere boy."

armies one after another in five great battles, in one of which—Arcola—he nearly lost his life. On 2nd February, 1797, Mantua at length capitulated, and Bonaparte proceeded to invade Austria proper, through Venetia.

Austria Sues for Peace. He was opposed by the Archduke Charles, who tried to block his way at the Venetian rivers. By three victories in one week, he forced his way across these obstacles, and followed up these successes by driving the Austrians across the Carnic and Noric Alps. Taking terrible risks in mountainous country with long lines of communication, Bonaparte advanced to within fifty miles of Vienna. But the Archduke's army was utterly demoralized, and Austria sued for peace.

Meanwhile Hoche, who had superseded Jourdan, crossed the Rhine and defeated the Austrians, but before Moreau could join him in an advance on Vienna, the armistice was signed.¹

French Avarice and Aggression. Though the French had come nominally to liberate the Italians, their victories were disgraced by sack and pillage. Art treasures were sent to Paris; fines and requisitions enriched not only the generals but also the regimental officers and common soldiers. These became enthusiastically devoted to a leader who not only gave them glorious victories, but also lined their pockets. But the "liberated" provinces found French occupation by no means an unmixed blessing, and frequent revolts occurred. In particular, the people of Verona massacred the French left behind in their city to guard the communications, and the wounded in their hospital. On account of this outrage, and other disputes

¹ The army of the Rhine therefore had no share in the laurels of victory, which all went to the army of Italy. But Moreau's masterly retreat from Munich through the Black Forest, after Jourdan's defeat, was a most creditable feat of arms, and little deserved Bonaparte's sneer, "It was only a retreat." Bonaparte's spiteful jealousy of his rival, Moreau, would probably have extended to Hoche, but that brilliant young general died in September, 1797.

with the Venetian Republic, Bonaparte occupied Venice, seized its fleet, and annexed its Ionian Isles.

Treaty of Campo Formio. In October, 1797, the Treaty of Campo Formio brought the war to a close. It was a shameless compact between France and Austria, by which Venice lost her independence, and was handed over to the Emperor, along with Istria and Dalmatia, in return for the Austrian Netherlands, which with the Ionian Isles went to France. The Pope had already been forced to recognize the annexation of Avignon (p. 16), and to hand over the northern portion of the Papal States. The latter, together with Lombardy, Modena, and part of Venetia, was now formed into the Cisalpine Republic, under the protection of France.

Bonaparte's Plans. That Bonaparte was already dreaming of vast Eastern conquests is evident from his annexation of the Ionian Isles. With these and Malta, which might easily be seized, the command of the Mediterranean would be assured. By the conquest of Egypt, Syria, and possibly Turkey, France would be supreme in the East, Europe taken in the rear, a road opened to India, and Britain, the one Power still obstinately defiant, crippled. Thus he wrote a little later, "the time is not far distant when we shall feel that, to destroy England, we must make Egypt ours."

§ THE EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN

Britain was now in a difficult position. There was much disaffection in the industrial centres of England and Scotland; Ireland was on the verge of rebellion; the navy was mutinous.

British Sea Victories. In 1797, the Directors made another bold bid for the command of the sea. France could count on the Dutch and Spanish fleets; but Britain rose superior to her difficulties. In February Jervis and Nelson beat the Spanish fleet off Cape St.

Vincent, and Duncan defeated the Dutch at Camperdown in the Texel (October, 1797).

Foiled at sea, and nothing loath to be quit of the dangerous presence of the victor of eighteen pitched battles in one year, the Directors now adopted the Egyptian venture.

French Aggression. Funds for the expedition were provided by two acts of aggression. On the murder of a French general at Rome, the Eternal City was occupied and plundered, the Pope placed in honourable captivity, and the Roman Republic proclaimed. In Switzerland, the French Government intervened on behalf of some of the Cantons which had revolted against the usurped rule of Berne and the "forest cantons." Geneva and Mühlhausen were annexed to France, and the rich plunder of Berne, Zurich, Lucerne, etc., was sent to Toulon. The federal system was abolished, and "the one, indivisible, democratic and representative Helvetic Republic" set up.

Capture of Alexandria, and Battle of the Pyramids. Nelson was in the Mediterranean, watching Toulon. A gale drove him off shore, and Bonaparte sailed out with a force of 25,000 men (May, 1798). He made for Malta, which surrendered without even a show of resistance. Luck favouring him, he escaped contact with the British fleet and arrived at Alexandria, which he took, and pressed on towards Cairo. At length he came in sight of the Pyramids, rising out of the desert. "Soldiers," cried the General, "from the summit of yonder Pyramids forty centuries look down on you." Here a decisive battle was fought (July, 1798). The magnificent Mameluke cavalry¹

¹ Egypt was nominally governed by a Turkish Pasha, but was in reality under the power of Mameluke Chiefs or Beys. The Mamelukes were recruited from boys, chiefly of European birth, taken captive, and brought up from earliest youth in military exercises. Promotion was by merit, it being the custom that, when a Bey died, the bravest of his band succeeded him. Bonaparte expressed the opinion that with the Mameluke cavalry and the French infantry it would be easy to conquer the world.

dashed itself to pieces on the French squares, bristling with bayonets and pouring forth a murderous fire. Cairo was occupied, and Bonaparte was master of Lower Egypt.

But his triumph was short-lived. Nelson, who had been seeking the French fleet along the Syrian coast, came upon it at anchor in Aboukir Bay (1st August, 1798).

The Battle of the Nile. The French admiral had moored his fleet close in shore, but Nelson quickly realized that where ships could swing to their cables he might safely pass. He therefore formed his fleet in two divisions, and attacked simultaneously on both sides. Two of the ships which were sent inside took the ground, and were out of the fight from the beginning, but the manoeuvre was brilliantly successful. Some of the British captains, who, as Nelson said, "could be trusted to find a hole somewhere," cut through the line from both sides, and separated the van from the rear, engaging them in detail. The French flag-ship *L'Orient* blew up, and eleven out of thirteen ships of the line were captured or sunk. Nelson established a close blockade of the coast, and the French found themselves trapped in Egypt, with their communications cut.

Siege of Acre. Bonaparte, in the early spring of 1799, advanced boldly into Syria.¹ Arriving before Acre, he found a strong garrison of Turks and seamen (the latter drawn from British ships in the roadstead) under the command of Sir Sidney Smith. "On yonder little town depends the fate of the East," said Bonaparte with prophetic vision. Again and again the place suffered assault, and, though the French more than once succeeded in forcing their way in, they were each time either ejected or slain. With the plague raging in his army, Bonaparte, after sixty days of fierce fighting, was compelled to raise

¹ Before starting, he sent a trusty messenger to Tippoo Sahib of Mysore to inquire the number and disposition of the British forces in India.

the siege and return to Cairo. Hardly had he arrived when a strong Turkish force, escorted by Sir Sidney Smith's little squadron, disembarked and entrenched in Aboukir Bay, and the plague-stricken French army had to fight again.

Battle of Aboukir. Bonaparte skilfully placed his guns so as to enfilade the Turkish position ; Murat, with only 600 cavalry and some horse artillery, made a reckless dash through a narrow gap in the enemy's lines, and opened with his guns on their rear. The French won a decisive victory. Those of the Turks who were not killed or taken prisoners were driven into the sea and drowned.

An exchange of prisoners was arranged, and Sir Sidney Smith courteously sent Bonaparte a bundle of French newspapers. From these he learnt of the serious situation at home (p. 32). He immediately embarked for France, and, after an adventurous voyage, landed at Fréjus, having barely escaped the British cruisers (9th October, 1799).

• Eighteen months after Bonaparte's departure, the French in Egypt were defeated by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, a very capable general, who unfortunately succumbed to his wounds after the battle. All that remained of the great expedition returned to France in British vessels, and a valuable collection of antiquities made by French *savants*, who had accompanied Bonaparte, was brought to England and placed in the British Museum (August, 1801). So ended the grandiose scheme of Eastern conquest.

§ THE SECOND COALITION

After Bonaparte's departure for Egypt, the Directory, by its dictatorial treatment of the Rhinelands, alienated even the *Illuminati*, and the Emperor took heart of grace once more.

The Tzar Paul, considering himself the Protector of the

Knights of St. John, was irritated beyond measure at Bonaparte's seizure of their island, Malta. Thus, when, news of the Battle of the Nile came to hand, the Second Coalition, consisting of Britain, Russia, Austria, Naples, Portugal, and Turkey was formed to curb French aggression and domination.*

The Directory immediately assumed the offensive. To prevent Sardinia joining the Coalition, Turin was occupied, and the King fled to his island domain. Ferdinand of Naples was defeated, and, faced by popular risings in his capital, he took refuge in Sicily. But a huge Russo-Austrian force under Suvóroff and Mélas was now at hand, and, advancing victoriously across the plains of Lombardy, occupied Milan. Before the end of 1799, not one foot of Italian soil, save the Genoese littoral, remained in the hands of the French.

The Second Coalition Breaking up. But the Second Coalition was no more united than the First. Stung by Suvóroff's arrogance, the Austrian generals refused to co-operate with him. The Archduke Charles, who had conducted a successful campaign around Lake Constance, marched away to the support of the Duke of York, who was in hopeless difficulties in Holland. A Russian force under Korsakoff was thereby left isolated at Zurich, and Suvóroff was requested to leave Italy, join forces with his compatriot, and drive the French out of Switzerland. Suvóroff found the passes of the Alps, which the Austrians had neglected to secure, held by the French. The appalling battle which ensued left him victorious, but in a desperate condition. Nevertheless, he pressed on, and reached the southern end of the Lake of Lucerne (26th September, 1799). But on that very day, a strongly reinforced French column, under Masséna, inflicted on Korsakoff a disastrous defeat. Eventually, the two shattered Russian armies reached the Rhine, having lost all their artillery, horses, stores, and about three-fourths of their men.

The Archduke's attempt to succour the feeble York also failed, and Holland was cleared of the British, who re-embarked for England. Disgusted with his allies, and having conceived an insane admiration for Bonaparte, the Tzar now withdrew from the Coalition, and left Austria to reap the fruits of her pride and jealousy.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSULATE

BONAPARTE'S return to France was opportune. The loss of Italy was a bitter blow to the French, and he came as the "conqueror of Egypt" to a nation sore under a sense of defeat. His journey to Paris from the coast resembled a triumphal procession. He found the Government bitterly divided. Siéyès led the *moderate*, and Barras the *jacobin* factions, but both parties were ready to invoke Bonaparte's aid to end the discredited Directory. He threw in his lot with Siéyès—a tool well suited to his designs—whom he had formerly disparaged as "a man of systems."¹

§ THE COUP D'ETAT OF BRUMAIRE

Bonaparte's friends aimed at making him one of the Directors, but he determined that the new Government should be his, and his alone. He chose as his confidants his brother Lucien, President of the Council of Five Hundred, Siéyès, whose party was predominant in the Council of Ancients, Fouché, Chief of the Police, and Talleyrand.² On the morning of 9th November (18th

¹ Dr. Rose describes Siéyès as "the framer of more constitutions than any other man in all history."

² This remarkable man, though of noble birth, had taken the popular side in the States General. Being lame, he had been deprived of the rights of primogeniture, and put into the priesthood. Through his great ability, he obtained rapid preferment, and became Bishop of Autun in 1788. In 1790, he became President of the National Assembly, and favoured the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Excommunicated, he renounced his orders, and thenceforward devoted himself entirely to politics. In 1792 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to England. Thence he sailed to the United States during the war of the First Coalition. He returned to France in 1796, and thus escaped the Reign of Terror. He was a moderate, and believed in a constitutional monarchy.

Brumaire), 1799, the Ancients assembled at the Tuileries, and passed two decrees: (1) that both Councils should meet at St. Cloud, and (2) that Bonaparte should have supreme command of all the troops in the capital, including the National Guard. Bonaparte was, at the moment, in his own house, surrounded by most of the generals who had served under him in Egypt and Italy. The troops were drawn up on the *Champs Elysées*, as for review. They received the news of Bonaparte's appointment with the utmost enthusiasm.

The Directors, led by Siéyès, resigned their offices. Barras, it is true, first sent a protest to Bonaparte, who haughtily replied: "What have you done for that fair France which I left you so prosperous? For peace I find war; for the wealth of Italy, taxation and misery. Where are the 100,000 brave French whom I knew—where are the companions of my glory? They are dead." Barras, fearful of his former protégé's enmity, then left "the destinies of the Republic in the hands of her young and invincible general."

After a riotous scene, the *jacobin* members of the Council of Five Hundred were expelled by the Guards, and the *moderates* nominated three Consuls, of whom Bonaparte, a month later, became chief under the title of First Consul of France.

The Directory was no more. France had anxiously watched the progress of the *coup d'état*, lest it might end in anarchy and a fresh reign of terror. Its success gave promise of victory abroad and stable government at home, even though it cut at the roots of republicanism.

A *plébiscite* accepted the Consulate by a majority of nearly four millions, and Bonaparte proceeded to choose his ministers with great skill, balancing republican against royalist in such a way as to ensure his own supremacy.

Lafayette and Carnot were recalled. The former declined public office, and retired to his country estate,

but Carnot again became Minister of War. An equally wise appointment was that of Talleyrand over Foreign Affairs. Fouché remained Chief of Police, but Siéyès, the "idéologue," received as a reward for his share in the epoch-making *coup d'état* nothing more than a country estate, where he spent the remainder of his days in inglorious retirement.

Bonaparte next set himself to conciliate all those who had been alienated by the Directory.

1. Regular taxes were substituted for forced loans.

2. The tyrannical *law of hostages* was repealed.

3. The Church was restored, and all priests who were willing to swear allegiance to the Government were allowed to execute their office.

4. An amnesty was proclaimed for political offenders, including most of the *émigré* nobles, and the Cayenne exiles of the Fructidor *coup d'état*.

These wise acts had a great effect on the insurgent *chouans* of La Vendée, Brittany, and Normandy, who were further influenced by their admiration of Bonaparte. Brave men themselves, they could appreciate a brave and successful leader.

The First Consul believed strongly in a centralized form of government. To attain this, he abolished local self-government by popularly elected bodies, and appointed Prefects responsible to the Paris executive, i.e. to himself, over each of the Departments. By means of these Prefects, nicknamed "little First Consuls," he gathered up into his own hands the reins of Government over the length and breadth of the land.

§ THE WAR CONTINUED.

The *coup d'état* completed, Bonaparte turned his attention to the recovery of Italy. Leaving a skeleton army at Dijon with the object of keeping Mélas in Nice, he led a

strong force of 35,000 men, with artillery and stores, over the Great St. Bernard Pass. He accomplished this gigantic task by the end of May, 1800, and was reinforced by 15,000 men, who had crossed by the St. Gothard. Mélas, finding the French on his rear, turned and concentrated his forces near Marengo.

Battle of Marengo, 14th June, 1800. Bonaparte had thrown out strong detachments under Dessaix and Murat to look for the enemy in opposite directions, and now suddenly found himself faced by Mélas, who outnumbered him two to one. The French first and second lines were pressed back after a desperate resistance, and, had Mélas thrown in his reserves, victory might have been his. But, worn out with fatigue (he was 84 years of age), he retired to rest, leaving the pursuit, as he deemed it, to his lieutenants. At that moment Dessaix¹ returned, and, riding up to Bonaparte, exclaimed, "I think this is a battle lost, but it is only three o'clock; there is time to gain another."

His arrival turned the fortunes of the day. Bonaparte himself drew up his whole army on the third line, and addressed it in his accustomed manner. "Soldiers, we have retired far enough. Let us now advance. You know it is my custom to sleep on the field of battle." The enthusiasm of the French knew no bounds. Dessaix, leading the advance, was shot through the head and fell. His troops struggled furiously on to avenge his death, and when a brilliant cavalry charge, led by Kellerman, broke through an Austrian column, victory was assured. The whole French line swept forward, under the personal leadership of Bonaparte. Panic seized the enemy; they fled wildly for the bridges in their rear, and many hundreds were drowned in the river. Next day, Mélas, in despair, yielded up all Italy west of the Mincio. Bonaparte thus

¹ Dessaix had shared the hardships and responsibilities of the Egyptian campaign with Napoleon, who considered this loyal and devoted friend as second only to himself in military genius.

reversed at one blow the many disasters suffered by the Directory during his absence in Egypt.

Battle of Hohenlinden (3rd Dec., 1800). But this was not all. Six months after Bonaparte's triumph in Italy, Moreau in Bavaria crushed the Austrians in the sanguinary battle of Hohenlinden. Opposed by superior numbers, Moreau executed a bold flank movement, and attacked the Austrian rear. The whole army, enclosed in a narrow forest pass, was almost annihilated, and when Moreau advanced to within seventy miles of Vienna, the Emperor sued for peace.

Treaty of Lunéville (9th Feb., 1801). By the Treaty of Lunéville, France increased her power under the guise of making graceful concessions. The Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian (Genoese) Republics were declared independent, but in point of fact they still remained under French control. The Pope and Ferdinand of Naples were guaranteed their possessions, on condition that they closed their ports to British ships.

By secret diplomacy, Bonaparte elevated Tuscany to the rank of a kingdom (Etruria) under the Spanish Bourbon Duke of Parma, and in return received Louisiana from Spain.

The League of Armed Neutrality. Britain again stood alone against France, and had also to face the recently formed League of Armed Neutrality. A British fleet had captured Malta (September, 1800), and the Tzar Paul, to mark his displeasure, seized all British shipping in Russian ports. He then formed a coalition of Baltic Powers—Denmark, Sweden, and Russia—to combat the British practice of seizing enemy's goods on neutral ships.

Battle of Copenhagen. Nelson immediately attacked the Danish defences at Copenhagen, before the allies could close the entrance to the Baltic. He repeated the tactics so successful at the Battle of the Nile. The conflict was terrific. Nelson, with only twelve ships of the line (of which three ran ashore) and a few frigates, fought twenty heavily

armed hulks, as well as the shore batteries. At a critical stage in the fight Admiral Parker, in command of the fleet, signalled Nelson to retire, but the latter, taking no notice, persevered and finally arranged an armistice (April, 1801).

Assassination of the Tzar. A plot to depose the Tzar had just culminated in his murder, and his son, Alexander I, reversed his policy. When Britain agreed that hemp, flax, and timber should not be treated as contraband, the League broke up. The Malta question was settled by according to the Tzar the empty title of Protector of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

The war had again become a duel between France and Britain. The latter supreme at sea, and the former equally supreme on land were exhausting themselves in a useless struggle, for they could not come to grips.

When George III's violent opposition to Catholic emancipation brought about Pitt's resignation, and the "pacifist" Addington took his place, negotiations were opened between the two countries.

Peace of Amiens. On 27th March, 1802, the Peace of Amiens was signed.

1. Great Britain gained Ceylon from the Dutch, and Trinidad from Spain, but restored the Cape to the former, and promised to evacuate Malta, the neutrality of which was to be guaranteed.

2. France gained part of Guiana from Portugal, recognized the restoration of Egypt to Turkey, evacuated Naples and the central Papal States, and acknowledged the independence of the Ionian Isles.

The Treaty was pre-eminently favourable to France. She regained her colonies, with Guiana added, while her allies, Spain and Holland, paid for her naval defeats. She was granted a much needed breathing-space in which to reorganize her armies, refit her fleets, and accumulate stores from across the now peaceful seas.

The German States of the Empire were left in the utmost

confusion, with the dispossessed princes from the west bank of the Rhine and from Italy, and the House of Nassau from Holland, all clamouring for compensations. These were effected mainly at the expense of the Free Cities, and of the Church domains ruled by Prince Bishops. This resulted in the absorption of all the small and weak states by their more powerful neighbours, who thereby became less dependent on Austria.

§ RECONSTRUCTION OF FRANCE

An attempt on the life of the victor of Marengo, by means of an infernal machine (December, 1800), only resulted in increasing the enthusiasm felt for him. Bonaparte was not backward in profiting by this. Without a shadow of legality, he took control of the national expenditure, and not a voice was raised in protest.

With the wealth of Italy again available after the Treaty of Lunéville, new Government stock was issued, and those who had lost in "the bankruptcy of the two-thirds" were indemnified. National credit was restored by the foundation of the Bank of France. Thus did the First Consul make use of the principle of *panem et circenses* to strengthen his grasp on autocratic power.

To celebrate the Peace of Amiens, a proposal was made to extend the First Consul's term of office from ten years to twenty. But Bonaparte was not content with this, and on a *plébiscite* being taken he was created First Consul for life, and later was accorded the right to name his successor.¹ A change in title was all that was needed to make him King or Emperor.²

¹ Carnot, always an ardent republican, protested vigorously against this encroachment on popular rights, and, in consequence, was deprived of office.

² As, on receiving the Italian command in 1796, he had begun spelling his name Bonaparte instead of Buonaparte, so now he began to use his christian name in preference even to the French form of his surname.

The Concordat. During the peace, Napoleon initiated several very important measures. To heal the schism in the French Church, an agreement, entitled the Concordat, was made with the Pope (July, 1801), by which all bishops, both "non-juring" and "constitutional," were to resign, and to be re-appointed by the Pope on the nomination of Napoleon. All *curés* were then to be re-instituted by the newly appointed bishops, and the State was to provide their stipends, but the Church lands confiscated during the Revolution were not to be re-claimed. The Concordat gave to Napoleon, as the "restorer of the altars," the enthusiastic support of a body of influential men in every parish in France.

The Legion of Honour. By a wise and generous measure (April, 1802), abrogating all remaining laws against the *émigrés*, Bonaparte transferred the allegiance of many of the old noble families from the Bourbon princes to himself. In the same year he instituted the *Legion of Honour*, by which he created a new aristocracy of merit. Well might Madame de Staël exclaim, "priests and nobles are to be the caryatides of Napoleon's future throne."

Education. He also reorganized French education, which had been taken out of the hands of the clergy by the revolutionaries. The philosophic Girondin, Condorcet, had drawn up an admirable system of national education, but, in the rough and tumble of revolution, no time had been found to carry it out. Napoleon took this as his model. He made little change in elementary education, but in 1802 he established the *lycées*, secondary schools working on a semi-military basis, in which numerous pupils received free education. Technical schools were also set up, and the crowning point was reached when, as Emperor, Napoleon founded the University of France, with Academies in Paris and the chief towns.

The Code Napoleon. The complicated mass of laws and feudal customs of the Bourbon régime had been swept

away by the Revolution, but as yet little had been done to codify or reduce to order and consistency the numerous enactments of the various National Assemblies.¹ During the years 1800-1804, Napoleon, with four eminent lawyers, worked on a Civil Code, afterwards called the *Code Napoléon*, embodying all that was best of the Revolutionary legislation. It was a great and lasting work, and most beneficial in its influence, not only to France, but to a considerable portion of Europe, where it was adopted either wholly or in part. Great credit is due to Napoleon for this splendid achievement, for, by his practical common sense and hatred of circumlocution, he eliminated from its provisions all legal obscurity, and so simplified it as to make it easily understood by all classes.

§ NAPOLEON'S AGGRESSION

That the Treaty of Amiens was, in Napoleon's eyes, a mere "scrap of paper" is evidenced by his acts before and after its signature. The consolidation of his power was plainly the object he set before himself. He ignored the various guarantees of independence given under the Treaty of Lunéville. The Batavian Republic was compelled to support French garrisons in its fortresses, and to accept a new Constitution. The Cisalpine was re-named the Italian Republic, with Napoleon as its President. The Ligurian Republic, following this lead, appointed him its *Doge*. To link up these two states, Napoleon boldly annexed Piedmont (September, 1802), and, with the cession of Parma, he became master and ruler of North Italy. Strife in Switzerland, caused by the reorganization under the Directory, gave Napoleon an excuse for intervention. Under the title of "Mediator," he nominally restored self-government to the Cantons, now nineteen in number (March, 1803). By detaching Valais from the Federation,

¹ The Convention alone had made some efforts in this direction.

he secured the Simplon route into Italy, and his proud boast that "Italy, Holland, and Switzerland are at the disposal of France" was only too true.

War Resumed. Britain protested against these high-handed proceedings, but Austria, Prussia, and the German States, bent on the scramble for spoils provided by the secularization of the Church lands, took no action. Fresh causes of friction arose when Britain found her goods excluded from all countries under French domination. Finally when news came of a French "commercial mission" to Egypt, even Addington was alarmed. He instructed the British ambassador in Paris to ask for explanations, and to demand the immediate evacuation of Holland and Switzerland, and compensation to Sardinia for the loss of Piedmont. Napoleon replied acrimoniously, accusing Britain of breach of faith in not evacuating Malta, and in May, 1803, war was declared.

Britain's vital interests in the East left her no alternative. With the Cape route to India virtually controlled by France, and the Egyptian route threatened, she could only retain her hold on Malta, and again take up arms.

Napoleon raised money for the war by the sale of Louisiana to the United States, and by forced subsidies from Spain and Portugal. These, with the annual revenue from Italy, rendered him independent of French taxation. This greatly increased his popularity.

Plans for the Invasion of England. When Britain heard of the Spanish subsidy, she retaliated by seizing the treasure ships of Spain at sea, and in consequence had to reckon with the active hostility of that country.

In the winter of 1803-4 vast preparations were made for an invasion of England. A large flotilla of flat-bottomed barges was built in Boulogne and Antwerp, and an army of 120,000 men was assembled on the coast. All that Napoleon required was twenty-four hours' command of the Channel, and this he hoped to gain by decoying the

British fleet away on some wild-goose chase. The French ships in Toulon and Brest, and the Spanish in Cadiz, were to slip out, and, having effected a concentration at a previously arranged rendezvous, to return quickly and seize the Channel.

In face of this danger, the spirit of Britain was thoroughly aroused. Whigs and Tories, Scots and English, forgot their differences. Pitt was recalled to power at the head of a Coalition Ministry. Nelson and the other Admirals swept the seas, and blockaded the French, Spanish, and Italian ports.

The Royalist Plot. In the meantime the Comte d'Artois concocted a plot in London for the assassination of Napoleon. Georges Cadoudal, the *Chouan* leader, and General Pichegru, who since his return from exile had lived in London, were to proceed to Paris. With 150 men disguised in uniforms of the Consular Guard, they proposed to seize Napoleon while out hunting at Malmaison and kill him. The plot miscarried by the merest chance, and Pichegru and Cadoudal, with many of their followers, were arrested. On the eve of the trial, Pichegru was discovered, strangled in prison, probably by his own hand. Cadoudal was executed, glorying in his guilt, and Moreau, who was suspected of complicity in the plot, was banished.

The Comte d'Artois being out of reach, Napoleon wreaked his vengeance on the young Duc d'Enghien, another Bourbon prince and the last of the House of Condé. A troop of cavalry rode into Baden, seized the Duc and hurried him to Vincennes, where he was summarily tried at midnight and shot within an hour. D'Enghien was certainly innocent, and his murder aroused the greatest indignation in Europe. But in France the treacherous deed was welcomed as a proof that Napoleon was still "heir of the Revolution" in his hostility to the royalists, while the plot itself increased his popularity.

CHAPTER V

THE EMPIRE •

By a decree of the Senate (8th May, 1804), Napoleon became Emperor of the French. This title, the natural consequence of his Consulship for life, was immediately confirmed by a *plébiscite*. •

Napoleon was only 35 years of age when he reached this towering pinnacle of power, but his administrative ability and military genius, combined with a calm aloofness and steady concentration of purpose, made him a unique personality in an age of revolutionary chaos. From his Florentine father he inherited a keen appreciation of the arts, a capacity for intrigue, and great powers of organization. His Corsican blood betrayed itself in a spirit of spiteful jealousy and implacable revenge, in his family pride, and in his calculated outbursts of passion, which, as he said, he never allowed to mount higher than his chin.

Napoleon's Coronation. Napoleon determined to make his Coronation, on 2nd December, 1804, as impressive as possible. Pope Pius VII presided at the ceremony, which was graced by the presence of the Emperor's family (now "grand dignitaries of the Empire"), and of the newly-created Marshals, Bernadotte, Davoust, Augereau, Masséna, Kellerman, Jourdan, Ney, "the bravest of the brave," and Murat, *le beau sabreur*, husband of Caroline Bonaparte. But there was one serious defection, Carnot going into voluntary exile rather than recognize the Empire.

At the supreme moment Napoleon put the Pontiff gently aside and, taking the crown from the Altar, himself placed it upon his own head, a significant act which dispelled once and for all any pretended claim that his Empire rested on higher sanction than his power to maintain it.

THE THIRD COALITION

Russia and Sweden, alone of the European Powers, had protested against Napoleon's violation of the neutrality of Baden, as a "gratuitous and manifest violation of the rights of nations." In April, 1805, an Anglo-Russian alliance was formed, and, when Napoleon declared himself King of Italy and assumed the ancient Iron Crown of Lombardy in Milan Cathedral, even the hitherto complaisant Austria was aroused. Pitt's statesmanship now produced the Third Coalition, consisting of Britain, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Naples.

Prussia's Cynical Policy. Ever since the Treaty of Basle (1795) Prussia had persevered in her policy of greed. Frederick William III had in 1797 succeeded his worthless father, the second of that name. With a selfishness that was equalled only by his short-sightedness, the Prussian King remained outside the Third Coalition, in spite of Pitt's efforts to bring him in. Napoleon knew well how to work upon Frederick William's distrust of Russia, and, by holding out hopes of the cession of Hanover (which Bernadotte had occupied), confirmed him in his policy of subservience to France.

The Capitulation of Ulm. Far from trying to avoid the new war, Napoleon hailed it with satisfaction. He could count on the support of the South German States—Baden, Würtemberg, and Bavaria. He held a large and enthusiastic army idle at Boulogne, and he needed victories to set off against his failure to invade England.

With 200,000 splendid troops, Napoleon marched rapidly from the Channel against the Austrians, who, without waiting for their Russian allies, had advanced right across Bavaria. Mack, a general unlucky and incompetent even for an Austrian, suddenly found the French converging on his rear, for Napoleon had turned the line of the Black Forest from the north. With only 80,000 men, Mack

concentrated round the fortress of Ulm, where he was surrounded, Murat having passed through the southern defiles of the Forest. Only a few hundred Austrians succeeded in cutting their way out, and the remainder with 200 guns surrendered on 20th October, 1805.¹ This swift and terrible blow crippled Austria, and the French, pressing on, occupied Vienna.

Battle of Trafalgar. The day after Napoleon's victory on land, Britain gained an equally decisive one on sea. Nelson had blockaded Toulon for twenty-one months, but was at last driven off-shore by storms, and the French fleet got to sea. On learning this, Nelson set a course for Egypt,² but finding that the French had sailed west he turned and followed them. Villeneuve, the French admiral, thereby secured a few days' start, and Nelson, missing him in the West Indies, headed again for Europe in his wake. He detached a fast frigate, which outsailed the French fleet and arrived in London in time to give warning. The Admiralty strengthened the Channel squadron under Sir Robert Calder, who met Villeneuve, and, by superior seamanship, forced him to take refuge in Ferrol, and later in Cadiz. There Nelson blockaded both the French and Spanish fleets. Napoleon was furious with Villeneuve, and accused him of cowardice. Stung by the Emperor's strictures, Villeneuve at length put to sea with

¹ Early in the engagement Murat left the important position of Elchingen unguarded. Ney and Lannes, who were with him, pointed out the risk of this, but Murat, with true Gascon vanity, tossed aside their maps, and exclaimed irritably, "I understand nothing of your plans; I make mine in the presence of the enemy." When the Austrians seized Elchingen, Napoleon was furious and ordered Ney to retake the position. Well pleased with his mission, Ney went forth with the laughing remark to Murat, "Come with me, Prince, and make your plans in the presence of the enemy." The heights were stormed with conspicuous gallantry at the point of the bayonet, and Ney received the title of Duke of Elchingen.

² He utterly disbelieved in the possibility of an invasion of England, and the Cabinet now shared his opinion, but were obsessed with fears of another Egyptian venture.

thirty-three ships of the line, and gave battle off Cape Trafalgar (21st October, 1805). Nelson and Collingwood, with twenty-seven ships in two divisions, broke the enemy's crescent formation, and threw it into the utmost confusion. Eighteen of the fleet were captured, and the rest fled. Britain thus remained mistress of the sea, but paid a heavy price for victory in the death of her great admiral, who was mortally wounded in action.

Battle of Austerlitz. The Tzar, who had arrived too late to prevent General Mack's foolhardy advance, was now in Moravia. By a dishonourable trick, Murat and Lannes seized the Danube Bridge (*see* plan, p. 71) to the north of Vienna, and so enabled Napoleon to advance against the Russians. But when these were joined by reinforcements and 15,000 Austrians, Napoleon, faced by superior numbers, withdrew his right flank in feigned disorder, and lured the Tzar, who was anxious to take the offensive, into an attempt to cut the French communications with Vienna. This movement brought him into a marsh with a frozen lake behind him, and immediately the French centre under Soult was flung furiously forward. The Russians were hurled back in confusion and their forces cut in two, the French seizing the high ground previously held by the enemy. With great difficulty the Russians retreated through the marshes and country lanes, harassed by the French artillery, which poured down a plunging fire, breaking the ice, and cutting up the ground.¹

Austerlitz, a complete and decisive victory, was fought on the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation. The night before the battle was spent by him round the watch-fires. Recognizing him, his troops implored him to keep himself safe with the reserves, and they would celebrate the day in a manner befitting its glory. The battle began in fog

¹ General de Marbot in his memoirs states that "thousands of Russians with their horses, guns, and waggons slowly settled down into the depths" of the lake, a fable which has now been disproved.

and mist, but at the moment of victory the sun shone out brilliantly, and the "Sun of Austerlitz" became a proverb among the French soldiery. Austerlitz, or the Battle of the Emperors, brought the war to a close.

The Treaty of Pressburg. The Tzar, dismayed by the disaster, was granted a truce on condition that he retired from Austria. The Austrian Emperor next day sued for an armistice, and on 26th December, 1805, the Treaty of Pressburg was signed. Austria ceded Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia (with the exception of Trieste and Fiume) to the Kingdom of Italy, and the Tyrol and Swabia to Bavaria and Würtemberg respectively, which were raised to the rank of kingdoms.

Death of Pitt. The news of Austerlitz broke Pitt's heart. Pointing to the map of Europe hanging on the wall in his room, he exclaimed, "take down that map and roll it up; it will not be needed for the next ten years."

Napoleon now proceeded to advance his family. He dethroned the King of Naples, Ferdinand, and gave the crown to Joseph Bonaparte. Another brother, Louis, was made King of Holland, and Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, was given the Grand Duchy of Berg. Many of the Marshals also became dukes or princes. On 1st January, 1806, Napoleon quietly dropped the Revolutionary Calendar.

The Confederation of the Rhine. Austerlitz, as Pitt had foreseen, transformed the face of Europe. Remembering how easily the free-cities and church lands had been joined to the larger German States after the Peace of Amiens, Napoleon now initiated a fresh grouping of states, sixteen in number, under the protection of France. This "Confederation of the Rhine" included the western and southern States of the Holy Roman Empire. The federated princes had long leaned towards the French alliance, and announced that the authority of the ancient Empire was at an end. Francis II therefore took the title of

Francis I, Hereditary Emperor of Austria, and the Holy Roman Empire, which had existed for 1,000 years, came to an end in 1806.

Napoleon now occupied a position in Europe analogous to that of Charlemagne in the year 800.¹ His dominions extended from the Atlantic to central Germany, and from the North Sea to the Adriatic. The dream of cosmopolitan fraternity had proved illusory. Instead of a Europe of free and friendly republics, without princes or privileged classes, there had arisen out of the clash of arms a mighty military Empire, surrounded by tributary states, from which all semblance of democracy was banished. Nevertheless, there was born in Europe, and notably in Italy and Germany, a spirit of nationality such as had never been known before.

Prussia. Nemesis was now to overtake Prussia. Since the formation of the Third Coalition, Frederick William had pursued an ambiguous policy in the hope of gaining Hanover from either Britain or France. Fox, Pitt's successor in England, justly stigmatized the Prussian monarch's conduct as "all that is contemptible in slavery united with all that is hateful in robbery."

Frederick William found that he had compromised his honour to no purpose. Napoleon threw him over, and entered upon abortive negotiations with Fox, in the course of which he held out hopes of the restoration of George III's Electorate. When this became public, Frederick William, tired at last of double-dealing, declared war, having previously signed a secret defensive alliance with the Tzar, who still hoped to unite Europe against Napoleon.

Battle of Jena. The aged Duke of Brunswick, in command of the Prussians, repeated the blunder of General Mack. He led his troops into the valley of the Saale, in the Rhenish Confederation, far from his Russian allies.

¹ In a message to the Pope about this time, he referred to himself as the new Charlemagne.

Napoleon marched rapidly north from Bavaria, and crushed part of the Prussian forces under Prince Hohenlohe at Jena (14th October, 1806). On the same day, Marshal Davoust encountered Brunswick with the main army at Auerstädt. The Prussians greatly outnumbered the French, who had been detached by Napoleon against Hohenlohe's flank. But Brunswick grossly mismanaged the battle. Instead of hurling his whole force on Davoust, who had taken up a position of considerable strength, he frittered away unit after unit in isolated attacks, and 20,000 reserves were never brought into action at all. Brunswick himself was mortally wounded, and both Prussian forces retreated in confusion on the fortresses of the Oder. Murat dashed forward with the cavalry and turned the retreat into a panic-stricken rout.

The collapse of Prussia was unprecedented. Fortress after fortress surrendered with scarcely an attempt at resistance, with the exceptions of Lübeck and Kolberg where Blücher and Gneisenau commanded respectively. Frederick William fled from Berlin, and within a fortnight of Jena Napoleon made a triumphal entry into the capital.

The Continental System. When Napoleon embarked on his Egyptian venture, it was with the intention of "taking Europe in the rear." It had now been proved that Europe was even more vulnerable to a frontal attack in detail. But, as Britain by means of her sea-power had ruined the first project, so too Britain might yet prevent the realization of the second. "England is everywhere, and the struggle is between her and me." This reflection of Napoleon caused him to issue his *Berlin Decrees* of 21st November, 1806. No country allied to or subdued by France was henceforth to admit British ships or goods, and British subjects and property were everywhere to be seized. By this "Continental System," as it was called, a virtual blockade of Britain was enforced. Britain's retaliatory decrees were as effective as Napoleon's proved

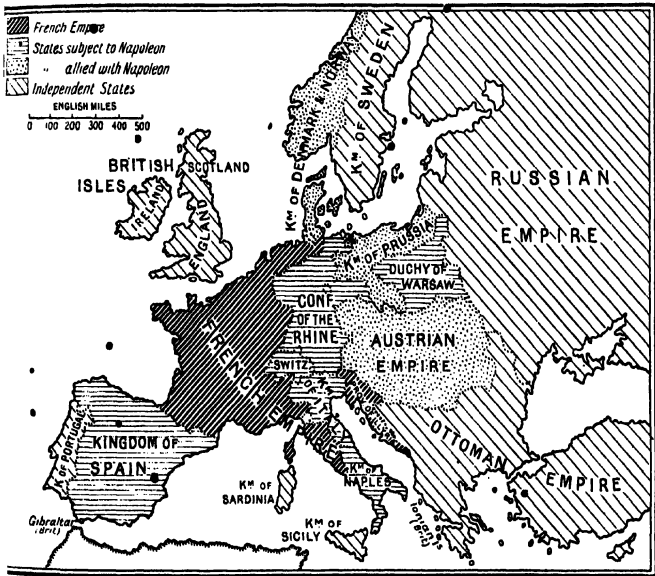
the reverse. *Orders in Council* forbade neutral ships, under pain of seizure, to trade with ports from which British commerce was excluded. This diverted over-seas produce from continental ports to those of England, and also led to British expeditions against French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies, and to the occupation of Sicily, Heligoland, and other places suitable for the smuggling of English goods into the Continent. As a result, the trade of the world gradually fell into English hands, and France and her allies suffered far greater hardships than the land against which the *Decrees* were directed.

§ THE END OF THE THIRD COALITION

Battle of Eylau. To make the blockade of Britain more effective, it was necessary to bring all Europe into the Continental System. Frederick William was still maintaining an unequal and hopeless struggle in East Prussia. But when, early in 1807, the Tzar came to his aid with a powerful army hope revived. The French were surprised, and a drawn battle was fought on 8th February, at Eylau. Though Napoleon claimed a victory, his losses were so severe that he dared not follow it up, but retired into winter quarters. This was the first check in Napoleon's victorious career. Had Britain and Austria thrown in strong armies at this juncture, his downfall might have been ante-dated by seven years. But again he was to triumph.

Battle of Friedland, 14th June, 1807. In May, Dantzic fell, and the French advanced against Königsberg. The Russians, attempting to cover that city, crossed the River Alle at Friedland, opposed by Lannes with only 10,000 men. Napoleon, probably anticipating this move, was holding a larger force in leash not far off, with artillery trained on the bridges in the rear of the Russians. A brilliant charge, led by Ney, drove the unfortunate Russians

back on the bridges, which were immediately bombarded and broken. Napoleon simultaneously fell on their flank, and drove them into the river. Friedland was Austerlitz over again, and Alexander immediately asked for a truce.



EUROPE IN 1812

Meanwhile Poland, hopeful of regaining her independence, had thrown in her lot with Napoleon, while Turkey, encouraged by him, had declared war on Russia.

Treaty of Tilsit. Like his father before him, the Tzar was utterly disgusted with his allies, and now met Napoleon at Tilsit. "I hate the English as much as you do," said Alexander. "In that case," replied Napoleon, "peace is made." Some of the negotiations between the two

potentates were conducted secretly on a raft moored in the middle of the River Niemen.

Broadly speaking, the Emperors divided Europe. The Tzar reverted to the traditional Russian policy of Eastern supremacy, and secured a free hand in Finland and Turkey, while Napoleon took under his domination western Europe up to the Niemen.¹

Character of Alexander I. The generous and visionary Alexander, when, at the age of 24, he succeeded to the throne of all the Russias, had imbibed from his Swiss tutor, Laharpe, deep religious convictions, and an ardent love of liberty. He viewed with sympathy the early struggles for constitutional rule in France, and, though horrified at the later excesses of the revolutionaries, clung on desperately to the theories of liberty, equality, and fraternity. He rejoiced at the ascendancy of Bonaparte, which he persistently regarded as a guarantee of security for his cherished principles. But he had occupied the throne barely a year when his generous optimism began to sustain many rude shocks, which culminated in the murder of the Duc d'Enghien. Idealism still ruled him, but the current of his regard for Napoleon was turned aside. In joining the Third Coalition, his avowed object was "to deliver from Napoleon's yoke the peoples whom he oppressed, and to free France from a despotism under which she groaned." Though endowed with many virtues, Alexander had one fatal defect, which made him the ready tool of any designing and dominating personality. He dreamed noble dreams—faced with practical difficulties, he lacked stability and consistency. The French Emperor possessed a charm of manner which few could resist when he cared to exert it. To this Alexander succumbed at Tilsit.

Humiliation of Prussia. Two days after Tilsit, Frederick William III was compelled to accept the most

¹ The Treaty was a shameless betrayal of Turkey by Napoleon, for which he had later to pay dearly.

humiliating terms. Almost the whole of Prussian Poland became the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, under the Elector of Saxony, now raised to the rank of King. Brunswick and other lands west of the Elbe were formed into the Kingdom of Westphalia, under Jerome Bonaparte. Murat's Grand Duchy of Berg was enlarged, while East Frisia was added to Louis Bonaparte's Kingdom of Holland. But this was not all. Prussia, denuded of half her territory—mainly ill-gotten, it is true—had to furnish a huge war indemnity. Thus Napoleon brought glory to France at slight financial cost. His maxim, "war must support war," added to his popularity, but even the unscrupulous Talleyrand felt qualms of conscience at "the barbarity with which Napoleon treated Prussia at Tilsit."

Denmark. With Russia and Prussia included in the Continental System, Napoleon turned his attention to the other Baltic States. The British Cabinet, having received information that Napoleon intended to seize the Danish fleet, determined to be first in the field. A powerful fleet of eighty ships was sent to Copenhagen with instructions to take over the Danish fleet "on deposit," and propose an Anglo-Danish alliance. The Danes indignantly refused to surrender their ships, or to accept the alliance. Copenhagen was therefore bombarded, and the ships seized (September, 1807), an unjustifiable proceeding which threw Denmark into the arms of Napoleon, and made her one of his staunchest allies. The Tzar, to mark his displeasure with Britain's high-handed action, immediately declared war.

Sweden. With the exception of Gustavus IV of Sweden, Britain was without an ally on the Continent. Beset by enemies, Gustavus maintained an unequal contest for two years. At the end of that time, he was deposed in favour of his uncle, Charles XIII. In the following year (1810) the heir to the throne died suddenly, and the Diet offered the succession to Marshal Bernadotte,

who, as Crown Prince, brought Sweden into alliance with France.¹ But to gain popularity, or possibly to show his independence of the Dictator of Europe,¹ Bernadotte connived at many evasions of the *Berlin Decrees*.

In the meantime Britain issued *Second Orders in Council*, declaring that any neutral ship trading with ports from which England was excluded was "good prize of war." To this Napoleon replied in the *Milan Decrees*, enforcing the same penalty on neutral ships trading with Britain. Neutrality was thus at a discount on sea, and the menace to American shipping from both belligerents caused the United States² to impose a strict embargo on all European vessels (December, 1807). This was the severest blow Britain had yet received; yet she still retained command of the seas, and possessed in Canning and Castlereagh two statesmen capable of carrying on the Pitt tradition, while the military genius of Wellesley was soon to prove that the French were not invincible on land.

¹ Bernadotte had refused to help Napoleon in the *coup d'état* of Brumaire, and from that moment had been regarded by the latter with jealousy and suspicion. Only the fact that he was Joseph Bonaparte's brother-in-law saved him from disgrace. Napoleon consistently advanced his family connections; he nevertheless viewed with great disfavour Bernadotte as virtual ruler of Sweden, and was exceedingly ungracious to the Marshal during the course of their farewell interview.

² In 1812 the United States declared war on Britain, and invaded Canada. The invasion was a complete failure, owing to the stubborn defence of the colonists, both French and British. In 1814 Britain sent a large fleet with Peninsular veterans to their aid. Washington was taken, and peace was made at the end of the year.

CHAPTER VI

THE BIRTH OF PATRIOTISM

§ THE PENINSULAR WAR (FIRST PHASE)

Portugal. "The English no longer respect neutrals at sea. I will no longer recognize neutrals on land," stormed Napoleon in his exasperation at the bombardment of Copenhagen and the capture of the Danish fleet. The Portuguese ambassador was curtly told that his country must at once take her place in the Continental System. Without waiting for a refusal, which ultimately came, Napoleon concluded a secret treaty with Spain (October, 1807) for the partition of Portugal and her colonies, and Marshal Junot¹ was sent with an army against Lisbon. So great was the terror inspired by the French that the Portuguese Royal Family fled to Brazil, and Junot, with troops utterly exhausted by the hardships of the march, occupied the capital without firing a shot (November 30th, 1807).

Spain. According to the terms of the secret treaty, Spanish troops had co-operated with Junot. Taking advantage of their absence, Napoleon occupied the chief fortresses in the north of Spain. Dissensions in the Royal Family gave him an excuse for further interference. Prince Ferdinand had for some time been strongly opposed to the French alliance, which had brought on his country the disaster of Trafalgar and the loss of Trinidad. On the

¹ Napoleon, at the siege of Toulon in 1793, wished to dictate a dispatch, and asked for a man who could write. Junot, a corporal, volunteered, and, as he finished his task, a ball struck the ground at his feet, and threw up a cloud of dust over the paper. The writer looked up calmly and remarked, "no sand is needed to dry this." From that hour Napoleon kept his eye on his amanuensis. On the Egyptian campaign, he (as General Junot) won the battle of Mount Tabor, defeating an army sent from Damascus to the relief of Acre.

other hand, the feeble-minded King, Charles IV, completely under the domination of the Queen and her worthless favourite, Godoy, opposed the policy of his son. The people, however, strongly supported the latter, and so great was their indignation at the French occupation of their fortresses that Godoy was forced to resign, and Charles abdicated in favour of his son (March, 1808). The Queen would not submit thus tamely. She called in Murat with a French column to reinstate Charles, which he, acting on instructions from Napoleon, had no intention of doing. He hoped to gain the throne of Spain for himself, and was therefore content with denying Ferdinand's right to the crown. Napoleon expected the Spanish Bourbons to follow the House of Braganza to the New World, but this cowardly flight, if ever contemplated, was prevented by a popular rising in Madrid.

The Treachery of Bayonne. Ferdinand, given to understand that his claim would be upheld, and a match arranged for him with Napoleon's niece, was induced to meet the Emperor at Bayonne, whither his father had preceded him. In his absence, the populace of Madrid rose in fury against the French troops, but were crushed with great severity by Murat. Napoleon, pretending that Ferdinand had instigated the rising, threatened to shoot him as a rebel. In terror for his life, the abject Prince resigned the throne to his father, who, on receiving a pension and two French estates, surrendered it to Napoleon.

"I am master of the situation in Spain as in the rest of Europe," said Napoleon to Talleyrand. It was a vain boast. Patriotism defiant faced him for the first time. The treachery of Bayonne roused the hot-blooded Spaniards to a desperate resistance. Popular Juntas sprang up in every province, and one—that of the tiny Asturias in the north—boldly declared war, and sent an appeal to London. The British Cabinet replying in favourable terms, the Peninsular War began.

Napoleon now called his brother Joseph from Naples to occupy the Spanish throne, transferring the chagrined Murat to Naples. Disaster speedily followed.

The Capitulation of Baylen. Seville in Andalusia was the seat of the chief Junta, and Marshal Dupont marched south to attack it. The Spaniards cut his communications, and he was forced to retire. On the very day that Joseph entered Madrid (20th July, 1808), Dupont was surrounded at Baylen by vastly superior numbers. With 20,000 troops parched with thirst and exhausted with heat, only one course was possible, and he surrendered. Joseph fled from Madrid, and the remaining French forces fell back to the Ebro.

Battle of Vimiero. This glorious achievement, accomplished by untrained irregulars, gave fresh heart to the Portuguese. Aided by 18,000 British troops under Sir Arthur Wellesley, they took up arms, and on 21st August, 1808, defeated Junot at Vimiero. By the Convention of Cintra which followed, the French agreed to evacuate Portugal, and Wellesley's successor, Burrard, conveyed them to France in British ships, a generous but foolish act for which he was much criticized.

The Erfurt Conference. The national revolt in Spain completely upset an ambitious plan by which Napoleon hoped to bring Britain to her knees. France and Russia were simultaneously to attack Egypt and Turkey, and to penetrate through Persia into India, while French and Spanish fleets were to seize the Cape and attack Britain's trade routes. This had now to be given up, and the Tzar (whose interest lay solely in the East) induced to hold Central Europe in check, while Napoleon crushed Spain. Napoleon therefore invited Alexander to meet him at Erfurt where, after a fortnight of lavish entertainment and gorgeous display, graced by the presence of a crowd of vassal princes, a secret agreement was arranged to the satisfaction of both Emperors, who parted apparently the

best of friends. There had, however, been several heated discussions, which revealed the rift within the lute.

The Battle of Corunna. Napoleon immediately set off to crush the "peasants and monks," as he contemptuously dubbed the Spanish patriots. After three easy victories he entered Madrid (4th December, 1808), and reinstated his brother. An advance on the south of Spain was frustrated by Sir John Moore, the new British commander, who with 24,000 men made a dash, "bridle in hand ready to make a run for it," on the French communications in the north. Napoleon turned on him with 80,000 men, and Moore began his marvellous retreat through mountainous country covered with snow. Napoleon, considering the Spanish campaign as good as won, left the pursuit of the British to Marshal Soult and hastened back to France, whence disquieting news had come. Moore repulsed Soult in the glorious battle of Corunna (16th January, 1809), but he himself fell, and was buried on the ramparts. Nevertheless his object had been attained, and the remains of his force re-embarked for England.

§ CENTRAL EUROPE

Napoleon reached the zenith of his power in 1807. From this date he began to experience a new and stubborn power of resistance to his domination. Up to this, Napoleon's opponents had been effete and archaic dynasties, unsupported by the national fervour which had inspired the French armies.

Indeed, as Dr. Rose points out, "the enthusiasm for Rousseau's teachings of the 'Rights of Man' had aroused through Central Europe a widespread desire for some connection with democratic France." It was only when the subject peoples began to see how illusory were their hopes of a cosmopolitan fraternity, that a passionate patriotism awoke and kindled to flame within them.

Prussian Reforms. Prussia, who experienced above all others the heavy hand of Napoleon, was the first to feel the new impulse, which was further quickened by the vigorous outpourings of German poets and thinkers.¹ But the anachronistic feudalism of Prussia had to be destroyed before the lower orders could feel anything at all. This was accomplished by the great reformer Stein, whom Frederick William III placed in power after the Treaty of Tilsit. By the *Memel Edicts* (October, 1807) serfdom was abolished, free exchange of land obliterated the distinction between "noble," "citizen," and "peasant land," and the towns were permitted to elect their own municipal councils.

Army reforms were also carried out by Scharnhorst and Gneisenau. The weakness of the old army lay in the fact that it was composed of serfs and foreign adventurers, officered by nobles, who enforced their authority by severe floggings for even trivial offences. The system of universal conscription, copied from France, was now introduced, and with the middle classes in the ranks the former degrading punishments were discontinued. The change was most beneficial; an army of cowed and spiritless serfs was exchanged for one of free men.

Such changes—social, political, and military—were anything but agreeable to Napoleon, and, when a very indiscreet letter of Stein's fell into his hands, he insisted on the stringent condition that the Prussian army should not exceed 42,000 men (September, 1808). Stein was forced to flee for his life, but Scharnhorst and his co-workers devised a plan which gave Prussia a secret reserve of 150,000 trained

¹ Goethe, the greatest of these, remained unmoved, it is true, but Fichte, in his *Addresses to the German Nation*, completely abandoned his former position of sublime contempt for patriotism. Schiller, in his later work, did much to inculcate love of freedom, and to glorify self-sacrifice for hearth and home; while Arndt wrote, "when Austria and Russia had fallen, then first I began to love Germany truly, and hate the foreigner with an utter hatred."

troops in three years. Stein was succeeded by Hardenberg, who continued his good work, which produced a race of sturdy peasant proprietors, enjoying the freehold of two-thirds of their holdings, while the remaining third went in compensation for the abolition of all feudal services.

Austrian Reforms. The news which had brought Napoleon so hurriedly home from Spain concerned the hostile attitude of Austria. The Archduke Charles, after a previous abortive attempt, had at length succeeded in carrying out army reforms, which greatly benefited the soldiers and improved their efficiency. A national militia had also been formed, which was joined with enthusiasm, while Count Stadion, the Chancellor, favoured domestic changes similar to those initiated by Stein in Prussia.

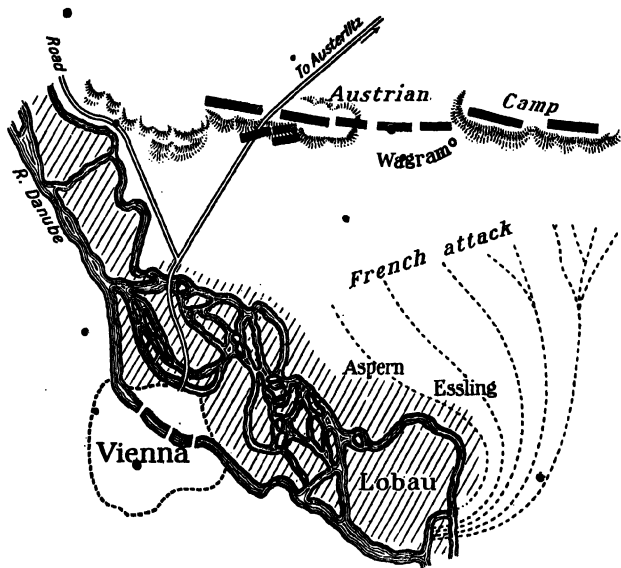
Napoleon's entanglements in Spain, the notion that the Tzar was half-hearted (as indeed he was) in his attachment to the French alliance, the hope that Britain would co-operate as formerly in the Netherlands, and that the German States would rally round her encouraged Austria to stand forth courageously as the champion of German nationality, and declare war on France (March, 1809).

The Archduke advanced into Bavaria, and Napoleon, hurrying up from Paris with vastly superior forces, defeated him five times in as many days.

Battle of Aspern. Vienna was occupied (13th May, 1809), but five days later Napoleon sustained a serious reverse. The Danube, north of Vienna, divides into numerous channels between islands and marsh-lands. Master of the south bank of the river, Napoleon failed to drive the Austrians out of the villages of Aspern and Essling on the north bank. The latter village was taken and retaken five times, but after losing 20,000 men,¹ Napoleon had to withdraw to the island of Lobau. His

¹ Among the killed was Lannes, who thus met his death in the very place where he had helped Murat to play a disgraceful trick on the Austrians, before Austerlitz,

situation was desperate. His ally, the Tzar, mysteriously held aloof and, had the Archduke boldly taken the initiative, "the conqueror of Europe" might have been crushed. Aspern showed what could be accomplished by a nation in arms. "The spell was broken. Napoleon was no



PLAN OF BATTLE OF WAGRAM

longer invincible." But the Archduke was slow to learn the lesson. He remained strictly on the defensive, and entrenched himself on the heights above the river.

Battle of Wagram. On the other hand, Napoleon rose to the occasion with his customary genius. He fortified Lobau, and called up reinforcements from Germany and Italy, under Marmont and Eugène Beauharnais. In six weeks' time he was ready for his second venture. Under

cover of a violent cannonade on Aspern, he crossed the Danube well below Essling, and, taking the Austrians on the flank, drove them back on the strong defensive position of Wagram. Here, on 6th July, a terrible battle was fought. At first the Austrians were successful against Masséna in the centre, but Macdonald, coming up with a large force supported by artillery, drove them back at the moment when Davoust was turning the Archduke's left wing. The Austrians were forced to retreat all along the line and the day was won, but the losses on both sides were appalling.

The pusillanimous Austrian Government immediately sued for an armistice, though it must have been plain that the French were both short of ammunition and weakened by losses almost equal to those of their foes. Austria reverted to her traditional reactionary policy. There was no more talk of championing the rights of nations. The enlightened patriot, Stadion, gave way to the cynical opportunist, Metternich, who thus began a career fraught with evil to the cause of European freedom.

Treaty of Vienna. By the Treaty of Vienna (17th October 1809), France gained Carniola, Carinthia, and Croatia, which, with Trieste and Fiume, were joined to Dalmatia, under the name of the Illyrian Provinces. Austria had also to pay a huge indemnity and to limit her army to 150,000 men.

Walcheren. Through the stupidity of his enemies, Napoleon had triumphed again. Austria had stirred up a premature conflict. The Tzar, who had not yet succeeded in subjugating Finland, nor in wresting the much-coveted Danubian provinces from Turkey, was still bound by interest, if by nothing else, to Napoleon. Prussia dared not move without Russian support, while the German States needed strong leadership to enable them to conquer their fear of Napoleon. Britain was as ineffective as in previous campaigns where land operations were concerned. A force

of 40,000 men was wasted in an attempt on Antwerp. Its incapable leaders¹ retired into Walcheren, and the expedition, decimated by disease, was withdrawn at the end of 1809. Had it been landed at the mouth of the Elbe in the Spring of 1809, under the command of Wellesley, all North Germany might have been induced to take up arms. But as yet Wellesley's abilities had not been recognized at home, and he was entrusted only with a command of 20,000 with which to drive the French out of the Peninsula.

§ THE PÉNINSULAR WAR (SECOND PHASE)

In April, 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley² again landed in Portugal. His difficulties were gigantic—

Many at home doubted his capacity to face such a strategist as Napoleon, whom they regarded as invincible. Fortunately, he had but to meet the French marshals.

He was starved in troops and supplies.

The Portuguese troops were untrustworthy, and the Spaniards, however effective as guerillas,³ were useless in pitched battles.

The country was mountainous, and the roads ran across, instead of following, the valleys. Transport was therefore very difficult. Still, the French suffered even more than the British from transport difficulties. They had longer lines of communication, and these ran through

¹ These were the Earl of Chatham (Pitt's elder brother) and Sir Richard Strachan, who were ridiculed in the following skit—

"Great Chatham with his sabre drawn,
 Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan,
 Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
 Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

² See, further, *Groundwork of British History* (Warner and Marten).

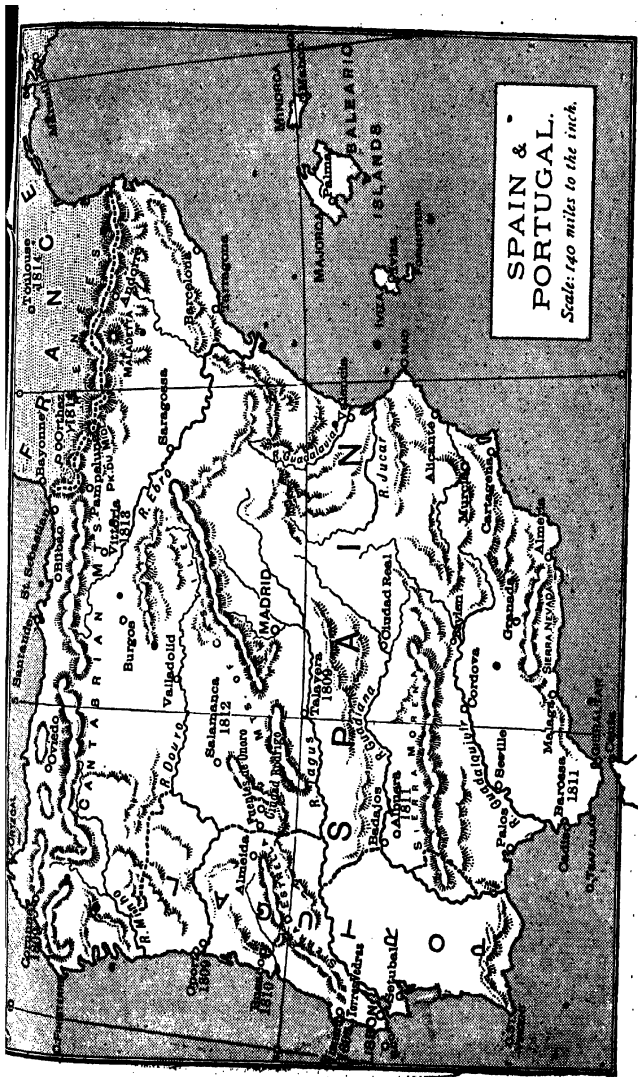
³ The daring guerilla chief, Mina, was a constant thorn in the side of the French. He hung on the skirts of the invaders, cutting off stragglers and small detachments, and, on one occasion, rescued 1,100 Spanish prisoners and destroyed their escort. As Marshal Macdonald wrote, "the enemy was ubiquitous, and yet I could find him nowhere, though I scoured the whole of Catalonia,"

the midst of a hostile population. "In Spain large armies starve, and small armies are beaten."

Wellesley's Tactics. Against the Napoleonic plan of massed infantry attack after heavy artillery preparation, Wellesley adopted tactics possible only with troops as steady and stubborn as the British. He relied on their standing firm, though only two deep, and extended his line widely so as to outflank an attacking column eighteen or twenty deep, and pour upon it a withering fire, which was withheld to the last moment. A bayonet charge was then launched on the disordered column, the "recall" sounded, and the process repeated. In the face of cavalry charges the hollow square formation proved invaluable, and during the preliminary bombardment the troops took cover, preferably behind a ridge.

Battle of Talavera. Wellesley was immediately successful. After a rapid march he crossed the Douro above Oporto, surprised Soult, and, striking at his communications, drove him out of Portugal, with the loss of all his cannon and stores. Advancing into Spain, Wellesley defeated King Joseph and Marshal Victor at Talavera (July, 1809), but the tardiness of the Spanish general who was advancing from the south on Madrid, left him to face overwhelming French reinforcements, and he had to abandon the intended investment of the capital, and retreat into Portugal. The belated Spaniards, unsupported by Wellesley, were crushed by Soult, who overran Andalusia, and drove the Central Junta from Seville to Cadiz.

The Lines of Torres Vedras. The peace of Vienna enabled Napoleon to send large reinforcements under Masséna, now Prince of Essling, into Portugal to drive "the English leopard into the sea." It was a critical moment, but Wellesley, now Viscount Wellington, rose superior to the menace. Lisbon, his base, stood on a peninsula. Across the neck of that peninsula the famous



MAP OF SPAIN.

lines of Torres Vedras, three deep, had been constructed. A great lake lay outside, caused by the damming of a river, and the countryside was entirely laid waste. Against this impregnable position Masséna made several costly and fruitless attacks in the winter of 1810.¹

Battle of Fuentéz d'Onoro. Early in 1811 Masséna, his army suffering terribly from sickness and hunger, had to retire into Spain. Wellington had inflicted on him a loss of 25,000 men, and, able now to advance, defeated him at Fuentéz d'Onoro (May, 1811), close to the frontier fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo. Next month Lord Beresford beat Soult in a dramatic fight at Albuera² in front of Badajoz.

These battles had as their object the capture of the two fortresses which barred the road into Spain, but Wellington was so ill-supported by the British, and so hampered by the Spanish and Portuguese Governments that he was reduced to inactivity for the rest of the year.

Battle of Salamanca. In 1812 both fortresses were captured, and Marmont, who had replaced Masséna, disgraced for his failures,³ was decisively defeated at Salamanca (22nd July). Marmont was anxious to cut Wellington's line of retreat on Ciudad Rodrigo, and incautiously detached his left wing for the purpose. Wellington fell crushingly on the detached force, routed it, and then

¹ Before retiring behind the lines of Torres Vedras, Wellington defeated Masséna on the heights of Busaco. Masséna could have turned the position, but, overruled by Ney, he lost heavily in a frontal attack. Though of no strategic value, the battle had the effect of encouraging the Portuguese troops, and led to recriminations among the French marshals.

² At Albuera the British lost 4,000 men out of 7,000, but the day was won by the magnificent charge of two fusilier regiments. "They (the British) were bad soldiers," said Soult, "they were completely beaten, the day was mine, yet they did not know it and would not run."

³ Ney had also been relieved of his command for disobedience to orders.

turned on the main army and defeated it. At Salamanca, it was said, Wellington "beat 40,000 Frenchmen in forty minutes." Be that as it may, the disaster of Salamanca, probably lost Spain to Napoleon. Joseph immediately fled from Madrid, which Wellington occupied amid scenes of wild enthusiasm. Soult had to relinquish all his conquests in Andalusia, and go to the aid of Joseph in Valencia.

Battle of Vittoria. Wellington advanced on Burgos, but, starved in artillery, he was unable to take it, and, threatened by a large French concentration, he had to retreat. He had, however, freed all southern Spain, and in the following year he gradually drove the French northward in what has been called his "march to Vittoria." There they took up a strong position, but were completely routed. Wellington captured 150 cannon, and £1,000,000 sterling, besides stores, ammunition, and art treasures. After the surrender of San Sebastian and Pampeluna in October, 1813, the French were driven across the Pyrenees, and the liberation of Spain was complete.

The Constitution of 1812. Meanwhile the Spanish Cortès at Cadiz had issued the famous Constitution of 1812.

1. The Cortès alone was to have the power of legislation, while the King was to be nominal head of the Executive.

2. The Cortès was to be elected every two years by universal suffrage.

3. The King could nominate his Ministers, who, however, were to be responsible to the Assembly.

4. The King could not dissolve the Assembly, but he was to have a *suspensive veto*, valid for two sessions only.

Some provinces, notably the Basque, were strongly opposed to the Constitution, and, though the Cortès had proclaimed that the Catholic Faith alone was to be tolerated, it had to face much opposition from the clerical party. So bitter was the strife that Wellington was brought almost to the point of despair. It seemed as if

British arms had delivered the country from the French only that it might be rent asunder by civil war. The Cortès had never been anything but a hindrance to the conduct of the war, and, on more than one occasion, Wellington seriously contemplated overthrowing it. The excitable patriots and wild doctrinaires of the political clubs, suspicious of treachery, hated the English and *Inglesimo* became the most insulting form of address.

CHAPTER VII

THE GREAT CATASTROPHE

§ NAPOLEON'S AMBITION

FROM the time he became Emperor, Napoleon probably had thoughts of founding a lasting dynasty. That the idea became fixed in his mind is plainly seen from a hint thrown out to the Tzar at Erfurt. Talleyrand urged the divorce of Josephine, as a State necessity, and also suggested the Tzar's elder sister as a suitable consort for Napoleon. But Alexander's liberal theories hardly carried him the length of mingling the blood of the Romanoffs with that of a Corsican parvenu. His reply was polite but non-committal. Shortly afterwards, the Russian princess was betrothed to the Duke of Oldenburg, a proceeding which must have pleased Napoleon as little as the studied restraint of the Tzar's troops, which were mobilized against Austria in accordance with the Erfurt agreement, during the campaign of Wagram.

After the Peace of Vienna, Metternich, scheming for the safety of Austria, suggested for Napoleon a matrimonial alliance with the Hapsburgs. A match was arranged with the Archduchess Marie Louise as soon as Josephine's divorce became an accomplished fact (December, 1809).

The marriage in Paris, on 2nd April, 1810, was a scene of pretentious splendour. It had momentous consequences. Napoleon confessed afterwards that "the Spanish ulcer" and the Austrian marriage were the main causes of his ruin.

Talleyrand had urged on the match with the niece of the ill-fated Marie Antoinette as "absolving France from a crime not her own, but only the work of a faction." Such

language deceived no one. Indelible was the stain on the escutcheon of France. And a large party in France still "gloried in their shame," and viewed the alliance of the "heir of the Revolution" with the ancient "corporation of tyrants" as treachery. Another, possibly a larger, class was disgusted with Napoleon's sacrifice of the wife of his youth to his vanity and ambition. Furthermore, the royalists had hitherto acquiesced in the rule of a victorious but childless Emperor, feeling sure that in time "the King would come to his own."

Still more serious was the shifting of the centre of gravity in European politics. The proud dream of Paris and St. Petersburg as the two capitals which alone counted in Europe, had gradually faded away in the face of practical difficulties in Spain. Napoleon's range of vision was more and more limited to the West, and henceforth he made it his object to consolidate all Central Europe under Franco-Austrian domination, and to confine Russia entirely to the East.

A momentary triumph rewarded him, and, when Marie Louise bore him a son, the little "King of Rome," his dynasty seemed firmly established.

But Britain, the root of the "Spanish ulcer," still remained the enemy *par excellence*. There could be no certainty till she was brought to terms. Vainly had Napoleon enticed her armies into the Peninsula. Instead of being crushed, they had learnt again the forgotten art of war, and had found in the "Sepoy General," as Napoleon contemptuously styled his future conqueror, a leader of dauntless courage, dogged perseverance, and great tactical ability. Napoleon's blockade had failed to bring him a victorious peace, and had entailed on his empire and its dependencies hardships almost past endurance.

In fact, Napoleon nullified the undoubted benefits of his rule and undermined the influence of such conciliatory viceroys as his brother Louis, his step-son Eugène, and his

brother-in-law Murat, by bringing economic ruin on the subject peoples. Even in south Italy, where men were slow to move, there were attempts at insurrection whenever an Anglo-Sicilian raid gave promise of success. Republicans also banded themselves together in secret societies (*Carbonari*), with which even the vigour of Murat found it difficult to cope. In north Italy, though Eugène was personally beloved and respected, the people groaned to see their harbours deserted, and were ready to rise at the first reverse to the French arms. Yet, next to France, Italy suffered least from the Continental System, for Britain held Sicily and Sardinia for the Bourbon and Savoy Princes, and smuggling between these islands and the mainland was extensive. Nevertheless prices soared prodigiously, for Britain kept control of the raw materials of the world. A few industries were perforce evolved, e.g. beet sugar in France, and cotton growing in Italy, while Lyons attained considerable prosperity through the invention of weaving machinery by Jacquard, a workman of that city, and the cotton trade was fostered by Lenoir's introduction of the spinning-jenny. Both these men were generously rewarded by Napoleon. To lessen unemployment, the rivers of France were joined up by ten canals, a huge breakwater was begun at Cherbourg, and magnificent roads were constructed into Italy.¹ In Germany, however, the distress was pitiable, while in France over-production led to a commercial crisis.²

It has been maintained that Napoleon's later wars were the result of his overweening ambition. It seems more scientific to regard them as the natural outcome of the Continental System. There were only two courses open to him; either to desist from the attempted blockade of

¹ These are only a few of the public works of Napoleon. Paris, Antwerp, Genoa, Turin, and many other towns were enriched and beautified by him.

² In England, industry was almost paralyzed by the anti-machinery agitation of 1811.

Britain and rescind the *Berlin Decrees*, or to insist, even by force of arms, on the absolute closing of every continental port against the mistress of the seas. To the latter alternative Napoleon irrevocably committed himself. If the System had failed hitherto, it must be made more stringent. A single free port rendered it ineffective, and *sub rosa* there were several.

Annexation of Holland, etc. This was notably the case in Holland, where the mild and benevolent Louis Bonaparte thought first and foremost of the welfare of the people, and connived at the smuggling of British goods. Napoleon violently reproached his brother, and summoned him to Paris, where he was put under arrest. He abdicated, and Napoleon annexed Holland directly to France (July, 1810). This act of rapacity was followed by the seizure of a strip of country along the sea-coast between Holland and Denmark, and Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, together with Oldenburg (whose Duke was the Tzar's brother-in-law) were added to the French Empire, (December, 1810).

Napoleon had thus gained direct control of the North Sea, but repudiation of the Continental System by the Tzar immediately nullified this advantage.

§ THE TRAGEDY OF MOSCOW

In October, 1810, Napoleon urged Alexander to seize all neutral shipping in Russian ports. The Tzar, however, was committed to the principle that "the flag covers the goods," and refused to confiscate 600 ships flying the American flag, which Napoleon contended merely disguised their British nationality. When Alexander went on to publish an order (31st December) permitting importation of colonial produce, of which Russia was sadly in need, and excluding French wines and other luxuries, war

became inevitable, and the year 1811 was spent in preparations. Both Emperors sought for allies. The Tzar failed in his attempts to undermine Poland's loyalty to France, but Napoleon himself finally alienated Bernadotte by a seizure of Swedish ships in order to enforce rigid adherence to the *Berlin Decrees*. On the Tzar's promising to forward the annexation of Norway to Sweden, Bernadotte joined Russia against France. Now too, Napoleon reaped the fruit of his betrayal of Turkey at Tilsit. By no promises could he procure the friendship of the Sultan, whose decision was confirmed when the Tzar wisely evacuated Moldavia-Wallachia. Austria wished to take up a position of armed neutrality, but Napoleon made it plain that the marriage alliance was inconsistent with such a position. The case of Prussia was pitiable. Scharnhorst and Gneisenau advocated risking all on a people's war of independence, but Frederick William was no heroic leader of forlorn hopes. In his view the plan was "very good as poetry," and in February, 1812, he entered into an agreement, placing all his resources in Napoleon's hands. Scharnhorst and Gneisenau in disgust resigned their offices, and the latter, crossing the frontier, joined Stein and a body of Germans who were supporting the Tzar.

In May, 1812, Napoleon held a grand levée at Dresden. The Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia were there, together with a crowd of lesser kings and princes, anxious to propitiate the Dictator of Europe. On midsummer day the advance began, and within a week the Niemen was crossed. The Grand Army numbered over half a million men, but it was a cosmopolitan force, and therein lay its weakness. Only about half of it was French, the other half being made up of Germans, Italians, Poles, Dutch, Swiss, Illyrians, and even a few Spaniards and Portuguese, while the Prussians and the Austrians marched on the flanks. A thousand pieces of cannon and vast

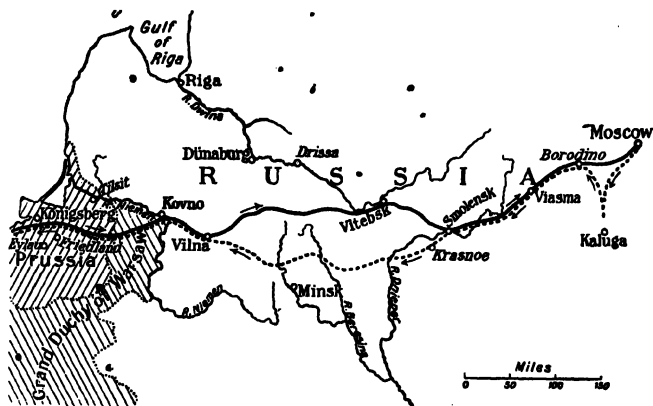
convoys of stores cut up the rough tracks that went by the name of roads, for violent thunderstorms and torrents of rain synchronized with the advance. It soon became well-nigh impossible to supply the army with food, for Napoleon lost 10,000 horses in his rush on Vilna, where he drove in a wedge between the Russian armies. These saved themselves from disaster only by a hasty retreat on Smolensk, where they joined forces. Here the stout resistance of the Russians encouraged Napoleon's hope of a decisive engagement, but the Russian commander, Barclay de Tolly,¹ evacuated the city during the night of 12th August, after firing it in several places, and Napoleon found himself within charred walls, and without shelter or supplies of any kind. His army was utterly exhausted by forced marches and the breakdown of the commissariat, but, rejecting sound advice to take up winter quarters, he decided that no time should be lost in pressing on and dictating peace at Moscow.

Battle of Borodino. The evacuation of Smolensk, esteemed a sacred city, caused dissensions in the ranks of the Russians, who failed to see the wisdom of Barclay's Fabian tactics. Kutusoff, an old general of the Suvóroff school, was appointed *generalissimo*, and the Russians prepared to make a final stand at Borodino. It was an admirably chosen position—a semicircle of hills, inaccessible on the right and fortified with earthworks on the left. Here was fought (7th September) the most sanguinary of all Napoleon's battles. The earthworks were captured, but Napoleon refused to send the Old Guard against the Russian left-rear, though repeatedly urged to do so. A great opportunity of rolling up the whole line was thereby lost, and when Murat pressed home a dashing cavalry charge, the Russians were able to make good their retreat. This disastrous victory was obtained at the cost of 30,000

¹ Barclay de Tolly inherited from his Scottish ancestry a courage and a prudence of inestimable value to the Russians.

men and vast quantities of ammunition, while the Russian losses were a little more.¹

Moscow was occupied on 14th September, but there was no request for an armistice, only sullen silence and deserted streets. And worse was to follow. That very night flames broke forth in many quarters, and, during the five



MAP OF MOSCOW CAMPAIGN

days' conflagration which ensued, more than half of the city was destroyed. But Napoleon lingered on for another month, deceived by negotiations, which the Tzar fully intended should prove abortive. At length it became evident that retreat was the one alternative to starvation, for provisions were unobtainable from the patriotic peasants in the countryside around the capital.

The Retreat. Napoleon turned south to avoid the line

¹ Napoleon in this battle was unwontedly cautious. This may have been due to an internal ailment which now began to make itself felt. He had also just received news of the serious defeat of Salamanca.

laid waste during his advance but, finding Kutusoff in overwhelming force, turned north and west again for Smolensk. The sufferings of the retreating army were intense, so much so that Kutusoff wished to draw off the pursuit, and leave all to the rigours of winter. But his Cossacks were not to be denied their chance of destroying the Grand Army, now reduced to a pitiable crowd of fugitives.¹ Neither privation nor disaster, however, could break the spirit of the French veterans who formed the rearguard, and who, under Ney, performed deeds of undying heroism. They entered Smolensk and other towns only to find them stripped bare, pillaged by the rabble whom, by their steady discipline and dauntless bravery, they were saving from slaughter. From Smolensk Napoleon took a southerly route again, but at the River Beresina he found his retreat blocked by a Russian army which had forced its way from the Danube through the Austrians. The French tried to seize the bridge across the river, but it was speedily destroyed by the Russian batteries. Marshal Victor came up, however, with reserves from Poland, and, with his help two light bridges were thrown across higher up, while Napoleon drew off the Russians by a feigned march down stream. Most of the troops who had kept their order got across before the Russians found out their mistake and returned. In the panic caused by the Russian grape-shot, one of the bridges crowded with stragglers broke down. The horrors which followed reached a climax when the other bridge was burnt to cover Napoleon's retreat, leaving his disorganized levies and camp followers the choice between the icy river and the Cossack lances.

Leaving Murat in command, Napoleon now hurried to Paris to meet a republican revolt, and to raise new levies.

¹ The French proved the truth of the warning they had received in Moscow. "In a fortnight your nails will drop off, and your weapons will fall from your benumbed and half-dead fingers."

Of the magnificent Grand Army only 20,000 re-crossed the Niemen, under the protection of the dauntless Ney and his indomitable thousand.

§ THE WAR OF LIBERATION

Kutusoff felt that the Tzar, having cleared Russia of the invader, should go no further. There was a danger of reconstituting an aggressive neighbour—Prussia. But Alexander wished to take up the rôle of Liberator of Europe, and in this ambition he was confirmed by Stein, who played on the monarch's well-grounded belief that Napoleon would never rest satisfied till he had wiped out a defeat due to the rigours of the Russian winter. Yorck, the Prussian leader, without consulting his Sovereign, now went over to the Russian side. Frederick William threatened him with a court martial, but shortly afterwards left Berlin, where he was under French domination, for Breslau, where he was surrounded by fervent patriots.

• *The Fourth Coalition.* In February, 1813, an alliance was arranged between Frederick William and Alexander, which later developed into the Fourth Coalition of Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

The French Emperor was received in Paris with heartfelt expressions of sympathy for his misfortunes. He appealed for further sacrifices, and the people generously responded. The conscripts of 1814 were called up, and Napoleon was soon at the head of 500,000 men, including 100,000 National Guards and the *élite* of the Grand Army.

Battles of Lützen and Bautzen. On 2nd May, 1813, he threw back the Allies at Lützen, but, being short of cavalry, could not follow up the blow by a vigorous pursuit. Prussia suffered a great loss in the death of Scharnhorst, who was mortally wounded in the battle. A few weeks later, the allies were again defeated at Bautzen, and Napoleon carried the war into Silesia. Now, when the

outlook seemed black indeed for the Allies, Napoleon committed his great blunder. By agreeing to an armistice, he no doubt hoped to strengthen himself, especially in cavalry. He also calculated on the discouragement caused by his two victories to bring the Tzar and the Prussian King to terms. But he ignored entirely the spirit of patriotism which he had all unwittingly raised against himself in Germany, as in Spain. Monarchs counted for little, nationality for much, as Napoleon found to his cost.

Austrian Mediation. Metternich now proposed the mediation of the Emperor of Austria, Napoleon's father-in-law, with the object of bringing about a peace satisfactory to all parties.

The time was ripe for the conclusion of an honourable peace. Wellington had just triumphed at Vittoria (21st June, 1813), Russia and France were exhausted by their efforts, and Austria pledged herself to join the Coalition if Napoleon rejected her good offices. Yet when Metternich presented his terms, viz., the partition of Poland as before the establishment of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the break-up of the Confederation of the Rhine, the reconstitution of Prussia as before Jena, and the restoration of the Illyrian provinces to Austria, Napoleon summarily rejected them. Summoned to an audience at Dresden, Metternich urged that the only hope of peace lay in Austrian mediation on the basis of these terms, but Napoleon, in simulated rage, stormed, "so you, too, want war, well, you shall have it. . . . The rendezvous shall be in Vienna. . . . Experience is lost on you."

"The man is lost," said Metternich with a shrug to the Marshals, who, anxious to hear that peace had been arranged, gathered round him as he went out.

The Armistice Ended. The armistice ended on 10th August, with Napoleon comparatively weaker than when it opened. The Austrian army, and a Swedish force under

Bernadotte had now come in to swell the Allied ranks. Moreau returned from exile in America to aid in the overthrow of his successful rival, only to lose his life at Dresden. Britain was subsidizing the Russian, Prussian, and German armies.

The campaign which followed is remarkable for the complete failure of the French marshals. As lieutenants under the direction of their great leader they were invaluable, but, entrusted with independent commands, they proved themselves lacking in real genius.

Battle of Dresden. The three main French armies operated in Saxony, Brandenburg, and Silesia, while Napoleon with the reserves lay within reach of each. Hearing that the Austrians and Russians were pressing the Saxony army back on Dresden, Napoleon hurried up in support. After two days' fierce fighting (26th and 27th August) the French were once again victorious. But Dresden, one of Napoleon's greatest victories, was almost nullified by four crushing defeats inflicted, about the same time, on the other French armies.¹

Battle of Leipzig. These defeats enabled the Prussians and Austrians to advance on Leipzig, and to threaten the French communications. Here was fought "the Battle of the Nations." Napoleon's position was very unfavourable. Leipzig, an unfortified town with a hostile population, lay behind him. His line of retreat was intersected by streams, which he, anticipating victory, neglected to bridge. The battle raged with varying fortune for three

¹ Napoleon made the fatal mistake of attempting to hold too much ground. Had he withdrawn from the eastern fortresses troops that were held there inactive; above all, had he recalled his war-seasoned veterans, with the capable Soult, from Spain, and concentrated all his forces under his own eye, the result of the campaign might have been very different. Not till December, 1813, did he attempt to make a separate peace with Spain, by offering to liberate Ferdinand, and then it was too late. Ferdinand referred him to the Cortès, but it held loyally to the English alliance, thus enabling Wellington to conclude his victorious career on French soil.

days (16th, 17th, and 18th October). Finally, Blücher's strategy, the desertion of many of the German allies, and shortage of ammunition brought disaster on Napoleon. A large portion of his army was cut off and destroyed, and he retreated with the shattered remainder past Lützen, Auerstädt, and Erfurt, the scenes of his former triumphs.

Break up of Napoleon's Empire. And now the vast empire which Napoleon had ruled with such consummate skill speedily broke up. Even before Leipzig, Bavaria had made a treaty with Austria, by which she was confirmed in the possession of all her recent acquisitions of territory. On Metternich's persuading the allies to declare the restoration of all lawful princes to their dominions, the imposing edifice of the Confederation of the Rhine collapsed like a house of cards. German unity was undermined, and for the next half-century Austria was paramount in Central Europe. Holland also threw off the French yoke, while the Danes came to terms with the Allies, and sent 10,000 men to reinforce Bernadotte on the Rhine. In the south, Illyria welcomed back the Austrians, while Prince Eugène was reduced to dire straits in Lombardy.

It seemed as if Napoleon's great work had crumbled to dust, and nothing remained. But this was so only in outward appearance. Principles and ideas, not to speak of customs and laws, still lived on, and not least among these was the sentiment of nationality in Italy and Germany. During the next fifty years, we shall see this spirit struggling through many vicissitudes to its consummation.

The Frankfurt Negotiations. At Frankfurt, early in November, the Allies offered most generous terms to Napoleon. Most Frenchmen, thoroughly war-weary, would have hailed with joy the acceptance of this offer. Limitation to "the natural boundaries" of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees (these were the terms offered) would, they hoped, ensure a peaceful policy, and cause Napoleon

to concentrate his great abilities on the social and economic betterment of France. But though Napoleon consented to negotiate, it soon became evident that he was far from desiring peace. In truth he relied, not without reason, on dissensions among the Allies.

The Emperor Francis considered his son-in-law sufficiently humiliated, and Metternich watched with jealousy the growing influence of Prussia, while his cynical mind could not but be filled with suspicion of the Tzar's idealism and religious mysticism. Austria, therefore pursued an ambiguous policy. The unstable Alexander, who had reverted once more to the liberal principles which he had abandoned after Tilsit, had no wish to destroy France, the birthplace of those principles, but only to free her from her tyrant. Prussia alone, under the influence of Blücher and Stein, favoured war *à outrance*. Napoleon's duplicity, however, soon reduced the negotiations to a mere farce, and the Allies invaded France in January, 1814. The Austrians and Russians violated the neutrality of Switzerland, and crossed the Rhine at Basle. Blücher made a rapid and unexpected dash south of Coblenz, and turned the strong lines of the Moselle and the Meuse, while Bernadotte and von Bülow advanced later through Belgium. But mutual jealousies hindered the operations. Blücher gained a great initial success, and wished to advance at once on Paris along the Marne valley, but Alexander and Francis, fearing the triumph of the Prussians, drew off their support and sent an order that Blücher should not attempt to enter Paris before their arrival by way of the Seine. Napoleon was not slow to seize the opportunity thus offered; he struck at the separated invaders in turn, and hurled them back.

Treaty of Chaumont. These disasters and the arrival in February of the British Minister, Lord Castlereagh, checked the dissensions among the Allies, and, by the Treaty of Chaumont (1st March), the four Great Powers

pledged themselves to wage war till France accepted her pre-Revolution boundaries.

Wellington in the South. Meanwhile, Wellington had advanced into France and defeated Soult at Orthez. He followed the French army eastwards, and sent Beresford on to Bordeaux, where he was welcomed by a strong body of royalists, who proclaimed the Comte de Provence as King, under the title of Louis XVIII (12th March).

Final Defeat of Napoleon. A final, and somewhat indecisive, battle was fought between Wellington and Soult at Toulouse (10th April). In the meantime, Napoleon after a series of masterly strokes against the Allies, had been outwitted (20th March) at Arcis-sur-Aube, and by the end of the month the Allies were before Paris. To save the capital from bombardment, Marmont sued for an armistice, though Napoleon was hastening to his relief, and was already at Fontainebleau. Only the defection of his marshals brought the struggle to a close. They realized its hopelessness, and at length prevailed on Napoleon to abdicate. On 13th April, 1814, he signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau, which entailed his banishment to Elba. So ended this brilliant campaign, in which the genius of Napoleon, notwithstanding his numerical inferiority, checked and defeated again and again three great armies, and for three months kept them at bay. It may be interesting to conjecture what might have happened had France not been thoroughly war-weary. Had she shown the same spirit which inspired her in face of the Brunswick Manifesto in 1792, Napoleon might have eclipsed his most brilliant victories. Yet his devoted troops covered themselves with undying glory by their courageous and defiant refusal to accept a defeat which was inevitable.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE

§ DISSENSIONS AMONG THE ALLIES

Two problems confronted the Allies ; a form of government for France, and a re-drawing of the map of Europe. As regards the first, there can be little doubt that Napoleon's duplicity and obstinacy forced the Allies to depose him. But little enthusiasm was evinced, either in France or among the Allies, for a Bourbon restoration. Eventually, however, the French royalists, aided by the skilful diplomacy of Talleyrand, secured the triumph of legitimacy, and the Senate drew up a Constitutional Charter, and called Louis XVIII, the brother of the unfortunate Louis XVI, to the throne.

Louis XVIII. On 3rd May, 1814, the King entered his capital. His long exile had completely disillusioned him, and he desired to rule with moderation, pursuing a safe course between the opposing factions, for, like Charles II of England, he had no wish to go again on his travels. He adopted the Charter, with some modifications. It provided for—

1. Personal liberty.
2. Religious liberty, with Catholicism as the State religion.
3. Freedom of the Press, within certain undefined limits.
4. Equality before the law, and maintenance of the Jury System.

France had now a constitutional monarch, but Louis lacked the determination necessary to dominate and check the reactionary element among the royalists. Though possibly the ablest man of his family, he had none of those chivalrous and sympathetic qualities which had made

Louis XVI personally popular up to the time of the flight to Varennes. He needlessly offended Republicans and Bonapartists, as well as many Moderates. The Charter was endorsed with the words: "Given by us at Paris in the year of grace 1814, and in the nineteenth year of our reign," a supercilious ignoring of all the great events of those years during which no Bourbon had dared show his face in the country. The Bourbon white took the place of the tricolour, which had led the French armies to victory. The Peers of the Upper Chamber were to be nominated for life by the King, and their debates to be held in secret. The King alone was to propose laws, though the Chambers might petition him to do so. This, indeed, was a continuation of the Imperial régime, but what a Napoleon might safely attempt was rather beyond the capacity of a Bourbon. The franchise was limited to those who paid 300 francs a year in direct taxation; i.e. to about 80,000 persons. Napoleon, even when most autocratic, had always kept up the pretence of universal suffrage, one of the chief principles of the Revolution. Public opinion was also irritated by the attempt to limit the freedom of the press, by the arrogance of the old nobility, and by their demands for the return of their confiscated lands. Honours were showered on royalist intriguers, and the old soldiers of the Empire were slighted, a reversal of the custom of advancement according to merit, and the policy by which, during the Consulate and Empire, Napoleon had attempted to conciliate all parties. "The Court was daily losing ground in public opinion. It seemed as though the Ministry and their agents were vying with each other as to which should give proof of the greatest folly, and the *entourage* of the King as to which should exhibit the greatest haughtiness and conceit." So wrote Marshal Macdonald, but it is only fair to say that the fault lay rather with the Comte d'Artois and the ultra-royalists than with the King.

France's Boundaries. As regards the boundaries of France, the Allies, by a generous fiction, agreed to regard her as dominated against her will by the ambitious tyrant whom they had deposed, and therefore as more sinned against than sinning. They offered her slightly better terms than those decided on at the Treaty of Chaumont. By the Treaty of Paris (30th May, 1814), she lost Belgium, Savoy, Nice, and the left bank of the Rhine, but retained Avignon and lands adjacent to Alsace. No war indemnity was required of her, and she recovered most of her colonies. £600,000,000 had been added to the British National Debt during the twenty years of war, and there was much criticism of the Treaty in Parliament, to which Castlereagh replied, "It is better for France to be commercial and therefore pacific, than a warlike and conquering state." Nevertheless, the loss of their "natural boundaries" was regarded by the French as a national disaster, and roused in them a spirit of resentment, not against Napoleon, whose obstinacy had cost them so dear, but against the Allies. The general European settlement was referred to a Congress to be held at Vienna. At the end of September the plenipotentiaries assembled. Enormous difficulties faced them. The divergent interests and aims of the Powers, now that Napoleon had been overthrown, immediately made themselves felt.

On the break up of the Rhenish Confederation, Stein and Hardenberg had hoped for the unification of Germany. Metternich, on the other hand, wished to keep Germany divided, so as to ensure the supremacy of Austria in Central Europe. He, therefore, as we have seen, prevailed on the Allies to declare the restoration of all the petty German princes to their lands. In vain Stein submitted a plan for a northern federation of States under Prussia, and a southern one under Austria. Metternich formed the Fürstenbund, or League of Princes, nominally to keep down revolutionary ideas and changes, in reality to counter

the projects of the "unitarian sect," as he sneeringly dubbed the followers of Stein. And now the Tzar proposed to reconstitute the Kingdom of Poland under his own sovereignty. Prussia naturally objected, but Frederick William was persuaded to acquiesce, on the condition that he should receive Saxony in compensation. This alarmed Bavaria and other German States. The Prince-Regent of Britain, interested in Hanover, was opposed to Prussian expansion in Germany, as was also Austria. Talleyrand was quick to take advantage of the situation thus presented. To preserve the German States as a bone of contention between Austria and Prussia was the traditional French policy. He therefore posed as the champion of the legitimist cause, threatened in the person of the King of Saxony. Britain and Austria were also suspicious of Russian encroachment west of the Vistula. The Tzar's haughty tone aggravated matters, and, in January, 1815, Britain, France, and Austria formed a secret alliance to resist the Russo-Prussian claims, even by force of arms. Wellington had previously advocated an understanding between Britain and France, in the interests of European peace. Well might the astute Talleyrand boast that he had dissolved the Coalition against France, and formed an *entente cordiale* with England.

Talleyrand, having gained his object, became more conciliatory. The Tzar also made concessions. When news came that on 1st March Napoleon had landed in the south of France, the Coalition was revived, Napoleon was declared an outlaw, "as the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world," and each Power undertook to raise 150,000 men.

§ THE HUNDRED DAYS

The Powers, by their disputes and jealousies at Vienna, had indeed played into the hands of Napoleon. Though

a descent from Elba had been expected since Christmas, no strong united measures had been taken to prevent it.

Once in France, Napoleon carried all before him, for, as we have seen, there was much discontent with, and suspicion of, the Bourbon régime. A quarter of a million prisoners had been repatriated only to find themselves slighted, and 10,000 of their officers placed on half-pay while their places were taken by young nobles and old *émigrés*. All the veterans of the Empire, bearing the honourable scars of many a glorious victory, now mounted the tricolour and flocked round their hero. Soon, in Napoleon's words, "the eagles with the national colours were to fly from steeple to steeple right to the towers of Notre Dame." Ney, who had set out from Paris declaring that the disturber of peace should be brought back in an iron cage, promptly joined him with the last of the troops relied on by the Bourbons. Louis XVIII fled secretly from Paris, after declaring he would die on his throne in defence of his people, and, on the night of 20th March, 1815, Napoleon, surrounded by a cheering multitude waving torches, entered the Tuileries in triumph.

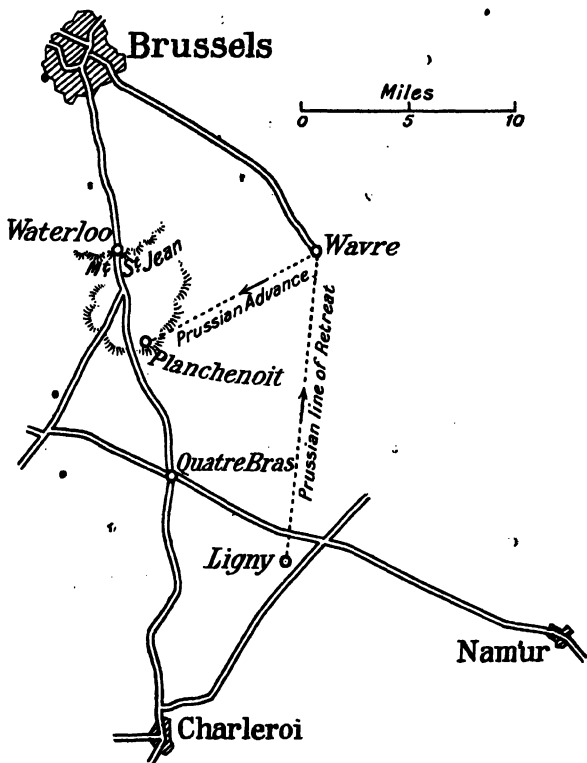
In vain Lafayette and other constitutionalists urged the people not to sacrifice the advantages of peace and liberty which they enjoyed under the Charter. Napoleon countered this by declaring that he came with peaceful intent, that Austria was well-disposed towards him, and that his object was to save the Revolution and confer on the nation that security and liberty which was menaced by the nobles' claims to their confiscated lands and ancient feudal dues. The insincerity of these professions was plain to most thoughtful minds, and Napoleon made a further bid to gain over the wavering by an additional Act which went further than Louis XVIII's Charter, especially as regards the franchise and the liberty of the press. On 1st June he swore to observe the Constitution, and departed

for the Belgian front, hoping by one grand stroke to make his position secure.

The Waterloo Campaign. The Allies were culpably slow in concentration. On 15th June Blücher and his Prussians lay between Charleroi and Ligny, while Wellington's British, Dutch, and Belgian forces were still scattered. Napoleon adopted the strategy, so often successful in his campaigns, of attacking his foes in detail. He flung himself on Blücher at Ligny, and drove him off the field. But Ney, checked at Quatre Bras, failed to envelop the Prussian right according to plan, and Blücher, on the advice of Gneisenau, abandoned his base at Namur, and took the bold course of retreating northwards on Wavre so as to preserve touch with Wellington. So ended the fighting on the 16th. Napoleon now made a mistake which was to cost him dear. He lost touch with the retreating Prussians, and only on the morning of the 17th was Marshal Grouchy sent in pursuit, and then towards Namur, a mistake in direction which he was slow to rectify.

Napoleon, with Ney, then advanced on Waterloo, where Wellington had drawn up his forces, according to his Peninsular plan, screened behind the ridge of Mount St. Jean. All through the 18th, the British squares withstood repeated fierce onslaughts, and on the arrival of the Prussians at Planchenoit on the French flank Napoleon in one last desperate effort hurled the Old Guard, led by the redoubtable Ney in person, on Wellington's lines. After a desperate conflict the French were repulsed, Wellington gave the order for a general advance, and the battle was won. The British fought the battle and won it, for it was not till after Wellington's advance that the Prussians gained a footing in Planchenoit and turned the French defeat into a rout. Napoleon barely escaped with his life. Had he fallen into the hands of the Prussians he would certainly have been shot.

When Napoleon arrived in Paris on the 21st, Carnot, his Minister of the Interior, endeavoured to raise the cry of "the country in danger," so successful in 1792; to unite



PLAN OF "WATERLOO"

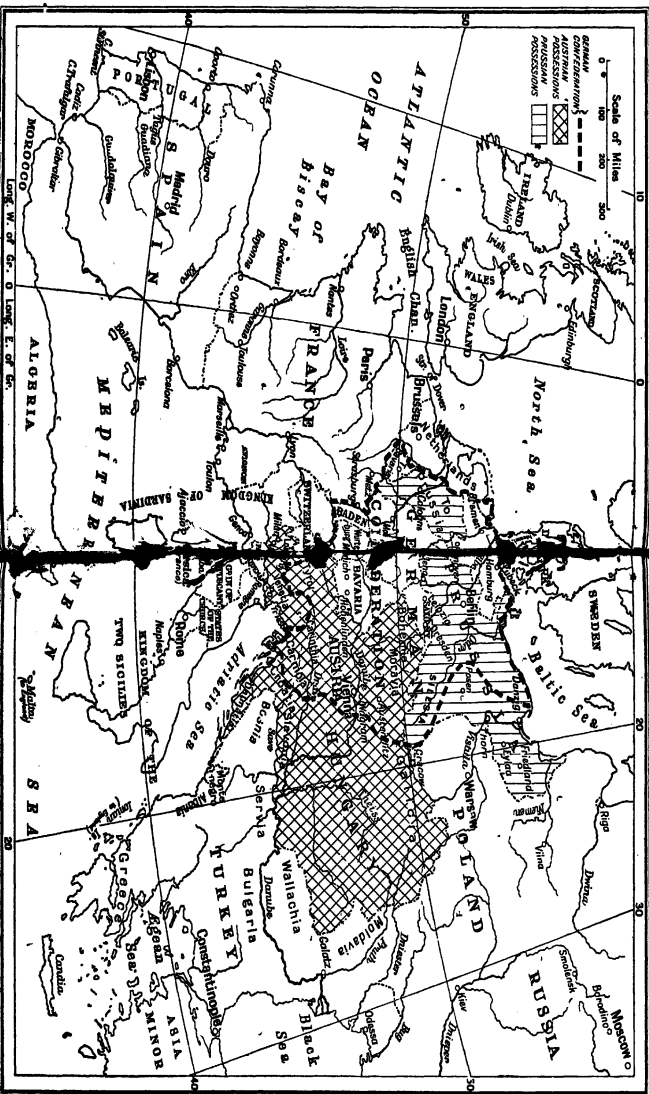
the nation against the Allies; and to confer dictatorial powers on the Emperor. But the time-serving Fouché and the consistent Lafayette strongly opposed the dictatorship, and Napoleon, exclaiming, "Let all unite for the

public safety, in order to remain an independent nation," abdicated in favour of his son, Napoleon II. Carnot, who in 1804 refused to acknowledge the Empire, was now the one and only Minister who opposed the abdication.

By the end of June the Allies were before Paris. Napoleon departed for the coast, hoping to escape to America but, finding this practically impossible, he gave himself up to the Captain of H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, England being, as he said, the greatest and most generous of his enemies. He was finally exiled, and kept a prisoner at St. Helena till his death (5th May, 1821).

The Second Peace of Paris. With difficulty France was saved from partition and humiliating reprisals at the hands of the incensed Prussians and Germans, who maintained that the Hundred Days were the direct outcome of the forbearance of the Powers in 1814. "May the diplomats not spoil with their pens what the soldiers have won with their swords," was the toast proposed by the fierce old Prussian Field Marshal at a banquet in Paris, and Hardenberg and Stein demanded the cession of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. Wiser counsels, however, prevailed. Wellington pointed out the danger to European security of an exasperated France, and was supported by the Tzar, who advocated the restoration of the constitutional monarchy. Fouché intrigued for the same solution of the problem. Louis XVIII guaranteed the Charter, and was placed once more upon the throne. But it could no longer be said that France was the victim of Napoleon. Rather was she his ardent accomplice. She was therefore restricted to the frontiers of 1790; she had to pay a war indemnity of about £28,000,000; her army was disbanded; and all the art treasures seized by Napoleon were restored to their former owners. An army of occupation, under the command of Wellington, was to be maintained for five years. All this was settled by the Second Peace of Paris (20th November, 1815).

EUROPE IN 1815



§ THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

A few days before Waterloo, the Congress of Vienna completed the territorial readjustments of Europe.

Prussia. Prussia kept Dantzic, Thron, and the province of Posen, but lost her other Polish possessions. She regained all her lands west of the Elbe, which, with additions, made up the Rhenish and Westphalian provinces. She received about half of Saxony, the King of Saxony retaining the rest, with Dresden as his capital. But, greatly to her chagrin, she failed to secure possession of Alsace and Lorraine. By these arrangements, which curtailed her territory towards the east and extended it towards the west, Prussia became a purely German power, and the chief bulwark against French aggression on the Rhine.

Russia. Russia retained Finland, and took all Poland, with the exception of Dantzic, Thorn, and Posen. The Tzar drafted a Polish constitution, granting personal and religious liberty, freedom of the press, and an elective Chamber of Deputies. A national army was authorized, and Polish recognized as the official language. Also, as a concession to Austrian susceptibilities, Cracow, with its district, was constituted an independent republic.

The Netherlands. By uniting Belgium and Holland in the new Kingdom of the Netherlands under the old Stadtholder, the Congress sowed the seeds of future conflict, though it intended to erect a strong barrier on the north-east of France. The arrangement was strongly resented by the Belgians, so much so that their levies were somewhat unreliable in the Waterloo campaign. The Powers ignored differences of language, religion, and sentiment, and virtually placed 3,500,000 Belgians under the rule of 2,500,000 Dutch. The King of the Netherlands gained control over Luxemburg, through the acquisition of that Duchy by the younger branch of the House of Nassau, in compensation for territory lost in Germany.

Austria. In compensation for the loss of Belgium, Austria received a large portion of north Italy—Lombardy, Venetia, and the Trentino—together with Istria and Dalmatia.

Italy. In accordance with the policy of strengthening the States on the French borders, the King of Sardinia, in addition to Savoy and Nice (restored in 1814), now received Genoa, in spite of the protests of its inhabitants. For the rest, Italy was again dismembered. The little States of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma¹ were re-established under Austrian sovereigns, and Lucca under a Spanish princess. The Papal States were restored to the Pope, much to the dissatisfaction of Austria, who wished to round off her territories in north Italy by the acquisition of the Romagna. In the south, Ferdinand IV regained Naples, and in the following year took the title of Ferdinand I, King of the Two Sicilies.

Thus Italy again came under the heel of the Spanish Bourbons and Austrian Hapsburgs, and looked back with regret on the sympathetic rule of Murat and Eugène Beauharnais.²

Germany. In Germany as in Italy, the downfall of Napoleon was fatal to the cause of unity. In the old Holy Roman Empire there had been about 300 petty states and free cities. Thirty-nine sovereign states were

¹ Parma was given to the ex-Empress Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon.

² Murat, after Leipzig, deserted Napoleon, and attempted to enlist Italian national sentiment in his favour. He declared the independence of the country, occupied Rome, Ancona, and Bologna, and did all in his power to induce the Allies to recognize him as king of all Italy. In this he failed, and only succeeded in compromising Eugène's position in the north. According to General Pepe, had he boldly declared war on Austria, instead of trying to gain her favour, all Italy would have supported him. Forced to flee to France in May, 1815, he returned with a few followers, hoping to wrest his crown from Ferdinand, but was seized on landing at Pizzo, and summarily executed.

now formed, loosely held together in a weak federation. A Federal Diet for the discussion of matters of common interest was established at Frankfurt, under the presidency of Austria. But the Diet was devoid of executive power, and simply referred the matters discussed back to the states concerned. The worst feature of the Diet was that it was in no sense a popular assembly, but was representative only of the princes and rulers.

Spain and Portugal. In Spain and Portugal, the Houses of Bourbon and Braganza were restored to their former territories. Ferdinand VII was enthusiastically welcomed by the people of Madrid. In Lisbon, a Regency, under the virtual control of Lord Beresford, carried on the government for the absentee King of Portugal, John VI, and there was much jealousy of British influence in the country.

Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Sweden was compensated for her cession of Finland to Russia in 1809, and rewarded for her faithfulness to the Allied cause by receiving Norway, taken from Denmark. But the Norwegians insisted on their legislative independence and a liberal constitution before submitting to this most unpopular union. Sweden, in exchange, gave up Swedish Pomerania, but this was taken by Prussia, and Denmark had to be content with very inadequate compensation.

Switzerland. Switzerland received three new cantons—Valais, Geneva, and Neuchâtel, making twenty-one in all, and, at the Second Treaty of Paris, the Great Powers, including France, guaranteed Swiss neutrality and integrity.

Great Britain. Britain's share was comparatively small. She gained Malta and the Ionian Isles, which secured her command of the Mediterranean, besides several colonies, notably the Cape of Good Hope.

CHAPTER IX

REACTION

The Quadruple and Holy Alliances. At the Second Treaty of Paris, the four Great Powers, Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, formed a Quadruple Alliance to safeguard the findings of the Congress of Vienna, and to coerce any people or State threatening the peace of Europe. Anything in the nature of revolutionary agitation was particularly obnoxious to these self-constituted guardians of law and order. They were pledged to a policy of reaction, the principle of nationality was suspect in their eyes, all democratic movements were invested with a horror inspired by the excesses of the French Revolution, and they regarded all reigning dynasties as sacrosanct and to be maintained at all costs.

The emotional Tzar, labouring under the influence of a religious mysticism peculiarly his own, attempted to bring these principles under the sanction of religion. He proposed a Holy Alliance of princes, pledged "both in the administration of their respective States, and in their political relations with every other government to take for their sole guide the precepts of Holy Religion." At the same time, their subjects were recommended "to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind." In the eyes of the Tzar, this involved due submission to the paternal despot set over them.

Castlereagh considered the proposal "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense," and under his influence the English Regent in polite terms excused himself from

signing it. The Pope, with a due sense of what was fitting, also declined. Metternich thought "it was clear the Tzar's mind was affected," and stigmatized the Alliance as "high falutin" absurdity, but, fearing to give offence, advised his sovereign to sign, and all other rulers concerned followed suit.

France. In France, the first elected Chamber was "more royalist than the King." Talleyrand and Fouché, notwithstanding their services to the restored monarchy, were dismissed. Carnot was exiled; the gallant Ney, with others who had rallied round Napoleon on his return from Elba, was executed. In the south, Republicans and Bonapartists were brutally murdered in the "White Terror," by which the ultra-royalists avenged the "Red Terror" of the Revolution. The Comte d'Artois, "the evil genius of the Bourbons," supported the "Ultras," and did all in his power to induce his brother, the King, to forward their policy of violent reaction. But Louis was, fortunately, a prudent man, and chose a "Moderate," the Duc de Richelieu, to fill Talleyrand's place. King and Minister pursued a policy of conciliation, and dissolved the Chamber in September, 1816.

In the elections which followed, the wealthy middle class, which feared reaction on the one hand and revolution on the other, returned a majority of "Moderates," willing to support the King's policy. But by 1819 the democrats had grown so strong in the Chamber that the Quadruple Alliance counselled repressive measures. The "Moderates," fearful of further intervention by the Powers, went over to the side of the "Ultras"; the Duc de Richelieu resigned, and was succeeded by the ultra-royalist, Villèle. Early in 1820 the murder of the heir to the throne, the Duc de Berri, played into the hands of the reactionaries, who regained complete control of the Government. The franchise was manipulated so as to give a double vote to the larger property holders, and the Press censorship,

which had been abolished by the "Moderates," was revived.

Meanwhile Metternich and Hardenberg had been greatly alarmed by the situation in the German universities, especially Jena, where professors used their lecture-rooms to inculcate national and democratic ideals, and where the *Burschenschaften* (students' associations) held popular demonstrations. The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was therefore arranged by the Powers, and met in 1818.

§ THE CONGRESSES

Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. Metternich's ascendancy over European politics reached its climax at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. The democratic movement in Germany, the discovery of secret societies in the Russian army, and a plot to kidnap the Tzar, caused the latter to admit sorrowfully that he had erred in patronizing and countenancing Liberalism.¹ He now followed Metternich's lead as submissively as he had accepted Napoleon's domination after Tilsit. Hardenberg was in entire agreement with the astute Austrian. Castlereagh, while dissenting from some of his theories, nevertheless favoured his policy. With extreme self-satisfaction, Metternich declared at the close of the deliberations that he had "never seen a prettier little congress." The first thing decided on was the withdrawal of the army of occupation from France. Louis XVIII was admitted to the select coterie of the Holy Alliance, and invited to join in the deliberations of the Congress. The Quadruple Alliance, however, was secretly renewed, as a precaution against a possible recrudescence of French aggression. The other matter of importance dealt with, viz., the democratic agitation in Germany, as

¹ This *volte-face* was manifested in Poland in 1819 by a vigilant press censorship, and other violations of the Constitution.

manifested in the press, in the lectures and debates of university professors, and in the demonstrations of the *Burschenschaften*, was referred to Austria and Prussia, who were to take joint action. Metternich and Hardenberg arranged for conferences of the German princes, which were held later at Teplitz and Carlsbad.

The Carlsbad Decrees. In 1819 the murder of the reactionary journalist, Kotzebue, by a student of doubtful sanity gave Metternich the desired opportunity for severe measures. Declaring that the students were being "ripened for revolution" in the universities, he caused the *Carlsbad Decrees* to be drawn up. A strict press censorship was enforced, students' clubs were dissolved, professors suspected of liberal tendencies dismissed, and secret societies suppressed. The Prussian authorities, to their lasting shame, showed their zeal by placing Stein under police surveillance. "A grand example of vigour has just been given in Germany," wrote the exultant Metternich, "which will resound into every corner of Europe. . . . One word spoken by Austria will now be the inviolable law throughout Germany." But Metternich's vigour in Germany, if it resounded into every corner of Europe, had little effect. In Spain, Portugal, and Naples, liberalism was anything but cowed. In January, 1820, Spanish troops under orders to sail for South America to recover the revolted colonies, started a mutiny, which quickly spread throughout the army and paralyzed the Government.

Spain. The despotic Ferdinand VII since his restoration had ignored the Constitution, which he had promised to observe, and the Spanish Liberals, as yet a small minority, had endured much persecution. They now rose, and the King was compelled to yield, to restore the Constitution of 1812, and to summon the Cortès. But Ferdinand was essentially a Bourbon who "had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing." He had but yielded in appearance, and

a period of confusion, bordering on civil war, ensued. The Tzar, invoking the high-sounding principles of the Holy Alliance, wished to lead a Russian army across Europe to aid Ferdinand against his rebellious subjects. This proposal coincided but little with Metternich's views. Austrian interests were not affected by the Spanish disorders, and Metternich regarded with jealousy and suspicion the presence of a Russian army in the west, and, above all, of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean. He therefore invented a subtle distinction between *moral* and *material* causes of disaffection, and argued that, as the Spanish rising must be classed under the latter head (a pure assumption, needless to say), there was no cause for intervention on the part of the essentially moral Holy Alliance.

Portugal. The Portuguese, inspired by the Spanish "revolution of 1820," rose and overthrew the unpopular regency. Here again the prime movers were the military. John VI returned from Brazil, but was compelled to swear to the Constitution of 1812 before taking up the reins of Government.

The Two Sicilies. Throughout Italy there was seething discontent, which came to a head in the south, where Ferdinand I, unfaithful to his pledges, had abolished self-government in Sicily, and refused a constitution to Naples.¹ In July, 1820, a revolt among the troops was headed by some officers, who marched upon the capital. The Carbonari, under the leadership of General Pepe, immediately joined them. King Ferdinand, in frantic terror, gave way, and promised the Constitution of 1812. The danger past, he appealed to Metternich for help, for he had no intention

¹ No wonder that the people contrasted their present hapless state with their condition under Napoleon. "Within the space of ten years," wrote General Pepe, "we had made more progress than our ancestors had done in three centuries. We had acquired the French civil, criminal, and commercial codes. We had abolished the feudal system, and justice was administered with improved methods."

of keeping his promise. But, even before this appeal, Metternich had determined to intervene. He could afford to ignore revolutionary activity in Spain and Portugal, but when it spread to Naples the case was wholly different. Successful revolution in the south might quickly spread to the Austrian provinces in north Italy. He therefore tried to obtain a mandate from the Powers for immediate Austrian intervention. The proposal met with considerable opposition, especially on the part of Britain.

Congress of Troppau, 1820. Metternich then proposed a Conference, which eventually met at Troppau in Silesia, in October, 1820. A past-master in the art of inventing theories to suit any particular case and to form a basis for inaugurating a policy in the interests of Austria, Metternich now distinguished between reforms granted from above and revolutions initiated from below. The first, he held, were legitimate, though dangerous, the latter were subversive of all law and order, and must therefore be ruthlessly suppressed. Castlereagh could not accept this disingenuous piece of special pleading. Obviously, such a theory cut the ground from under the feet of those who maintained the lawfulness of the English revolution of 1688. Castlereagh, therefore, on behalf of the British Government, definitely repudiated the new Metternich theory. Thus appeared the rift within the lute, which was to spread discord among the hitherto harmonious Powers. The Tzar, on the other hand, supported the Austrian Statesman's proposition that, where revolution in any particular State threatened the stability of neighbouring Governments, the Powers should interfere in the internal affairs of that State and, if need be, use force of arms to restore order. Here was a distinct advance on the agreement of 1815, and Britain refused to countenance it. But, Metternich was determined to act as "the policeman of Europe," and, as he could not attain his end at Troppau, he arranged for a fresh Conference at Laibach

to be held in January, 1821, and called on the Neapolitan monarch to attend it.

Congress of Laibach, 1821. Nothing loath, Ferdinand left Naples, vowing to support the Constitution, but with supreme bad faith vigorously denounced it on his arrival at Laibach. Notwithstanding the protests of Britain, an Austrian army was sent south. The revolutionaries were crushed, and Ferdinand was reinstated as an absolute monarch. His ferocity knew no bounds, and he took a terrible vengeance on his unfortunate people.

Piedmont. In the meantime, Piedmont rose in revolt. Here, as elsewhere, the movement originated in the army, and spread rapidly. The revolutionaries demanded the Constitution of 1812 and a declaration of war against Austria, the enemy of union and liberty in Italy. The King, Victor Emmanuel I, rather than make any concession, abdicated. A well-meaning but irritating reactionary, he was succeeded by his brother Charles Felix, an "ultra of the ultras," whose maxim was "the first duty of a loyal subject is not to complain." With the aid of Austrian troops, the rebels were defeated, and for nine years all hope of liberty vanished. The unfortunate Piedmontese, as the result of their revolt, merely exchanged "the whips of Victor Emmanuel for the scorpions of Charles Felix."¹

The Congress of Verona, 1822. Metternich had triumphed once more, but only to be faced with a fresh complication, in the revolt of the Greeks against their Turkish masters. Common religious interests bound the Russians to the Greek cause. Both were of the Orthodox faith, and regarded the struggle almost in the light of a crusade against the infidel Turk; a sentiment which was shared by France, while Britain suffered in her trade through the preoccupation of the Greeks in war rather than in commerce. On the other hand, Austria and

¹ Professor Hearnshaw, *Main Currents of European History*.

Prussia were antagonistic to the rising, which they regarded as hateful revolution against lawful authority, and which they hoped the Sultan would speedily crush. The differences of opinion among the Powers necessitated the calling of the fourth and last Congress, at Verona, in October, 1822.

The danger of raising the Eastern Question obsessed all parties. It only required a new Metternich theory to convince the Powers that the Turkish Empire lay outside their jurisdiction. This was immediately forthcoming, and it was decided to leave the revolt "to burn itself out beyond the pale of civilization." The position of the Tzar was pitiable. To preserve the discordant Concert of Europe, he had sacrificed his predominance in the Balkans, he had basely abandoned the Greeks to the tender mercies of the Turk, and he was discredited at home. Yet all to no purpose, for the Powers were never to work in apparent agreement again.

The internal condition of Spain now claimed the attention of the Congress. There, the struggle between the constitutionalists and the reactionaries (*see* p. 107) had deteriorated into an irregular, but ferocious, civil war. The French Minister, Villèle, wished to send an expedition to the aid of Ferdinand, but to this Britain offered strong opposition. Castlereagh had committed suicide before the Congress met at Verona, but the great Foreign Minister, George Canning, continued his predecessor's policy, and maintained the doctrine that every nation has the right to determine its own form of government without foreign interference. Russia, Austria, and Prussia, however, took the opposite view, and the French obtained a mandate to invade Spain, and restore the authority of the King. Britain formally withdrew from the Congress, and the Concert of Europe was at an end. Formed originally for the preservation of peace, it had ended in "binding Europe in chains," and producing a Metternich tyranny more oppressive than that of Napoleon.

Spain and Her Colonies. In April, 1823, Louis XVIII declared war on Spain, saying: "Let Ferdinand VII be free to give his people institutions which they cannot hold but from him." The Duc d'Angoulême was soon at Madrid. He behaved with remarkable moderation, and urged the King to maintain the constitution, and rule in a reasonable spirit. But Ferdinand was essentially unreasonable. Rescued from the revolutionaries, he would brook no advice. The Constitution was abrogated, and a new "reign of terror" initiated.

France and Russia now proposed to send troops to South America, to help in the recovery of the Spanish colonies. But Canning was determined "that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies." In the name of Britain, he definitely recognized the revolted colonies as sovereign republics. The United States took the same line. The latter feared a renewal of the struggle between France and Britain for the possession of Canada, and aggression on the part of Russia, who then held Alaska. The United States President, Monroe, therefore declared that interference in American affairs by the European Powers could not be tolerated. The principle thus enunciated has since become stereotyped as "the Monroe doctrine." Unaided, Spain was powerless, and Canning could boast, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." Ferdinand and Metternich were furious, the latter characterizing the British Minister, who had caused schism among the Powers, as a "malevolent meteor hurled by an angry Providence upon Europe."

§ REVOLTS, NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC (1822-1830)

The defection of Britain was a severe blow to the Metternich System. Everywhere it had the effect of encouraging national and democratic agitations. But Metternich could

still count on Frederick William III and Alexander I for support. And, in 1824, Louis XVIII, who had kept a restraining hand on Villèle and the "ultras," died and was succeeded by the bigoted Comte d'Artois, as Charles X.

Reaction held its own everywhere save in Britain, where Canning, Huskisson, and Peel, in a reconstructed Cabinet, pursued a saner and more humane policy. "Canning shook England free of the Holy Alliance, Huskisson prepared the way for free-trade, and Peel reformed the criminal law." In the East, also, was seen the dawn of better things, struggling up through the storm clouds of war.

§ THE WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE

For years the Greeks had been perhaps the best educated people in Europe. For this reason, the doctrines of the French Revolution fell on congenial soil in Greece. Patriotic literature sprang to life, and, as a result, a secret society, the *Hetairia Philike*, was founded in 1814. It aimed at the expulsion of the Turk from Europe, with Russian help, and the revival of the ancient Byzantine Empire.

In 1820 two events encouraged the Greeks. Serbia gained a small measure of autonomy from the Sultan, who recognized Milosh Obrenovich¹ as Prince of the Serbs. More important still, the truculence of the infamous Ali Pasha, Governor of Janina in Albania, at length compelled the Sultan to use military force against him. The Turkish

¹ Milosh Obrenovich had carried on the work of Kara-George, the great Serbian patriot, whom he had assassinated in 1817. A deadly feud between the Karageorgevich and Obrenovich dynasties ensued. Milosh and his son, Michael, were supplanted in 1842 by Alexander Karageorgevich, but restored in 1858. Ten years later, Michael, the best of the Serbian princes, was assassinated by a partisan of the Karageorgevich's. He was succeeded by his boy cousin, Milan, who was forced to abdicate in 1889. In 1903, Alexander Obrenovich, with his Queen, Draga, was brutally murdered, and Peter Karageorgevich, father of the present ruler, ascended the throne.

troops were soon fully engaged, and the Greeks, seizing this favourable moment, rose in revolt in 1821.

The rising took place simultaneously in the Morea, and in the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia (modern Rumania), which were under the nominal protection of Russia. In the latter, only the Hospodars or Princes, who, on account of their business capability, were appointed by the Sultan to collect tribute and carry on the administration, were Greeks; the inhabitants themselves were of the Rumanian race. The Hospodars, fully expecting Russian support, and led by Prince Ypsilanti, himself a general in the Russian army, threw down the gauntlet to the Turks. They failed miserably. The Rumanians refused to join the former agents of the Porte, and the Tzar, under the influence of Metternich, repudiated the rising. Ypsilanti fled, only to linger out his remaining days in an Austrian prison, and the Rumanians alone benefited by the rising, in that the Hospodars were in future chosen from the native nobility.

In the Morea, national spirit was thoroughly aroused. There the rising was in consequence more formidable, because less dependent upon Russia. The hardy mariners of the Greek islands, too, brought the invaluable aid of their fleet to their compatriots of the mainland. To avenge the oppressions of centuries, the Greeks waged a war of extermination against the Turks, who retaliated in like manner. Atrocious barbarities were committed on both sides. These reached a climax when the Patriarch of Constantinople, head of the Greek Church in the Turkish Empire, was executed on Easter Sunday, amid scenes of almost unparalleled insult and ignominy. The resentment aroused by this outrage, and the sympathy evinced for the Greeks in their heroic defence of Missolonghi, forced the Powers to call the Congress of Verona.

In 1823 a large number of volunteers, both French and English, among whom was Lord Byron, threw themselves

enthusiastically into the cause of freedom, but their efforts were to a great extent neutralized by quarrels among the Greeks themselves. In the same year, Canning recognized the Greeks as belligerents, i.e. not merely rebels, but a nation at war. Their situation nevertheless was critical; soon it became desperate.

In 1825 the Sultan applied to his vassal, Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, for help. Mehemet Ali sent his son, Ibrahim Pasha, with a large army and fleet, to reinforce the Turkish armies in Greece. Everywhere the Turks were successful. The Tzar, Aléxander I, was on the point of going to the aid of the Greeks when he died (December, 1825). Nicholas I, faced by a violent insurrection at home, was unable at first to carry out his predecessor's intentions.¹ After a year's siege, Missolonghi was taken. The heroic defenders, in their attempt to cut their way through, were slaughtered almost to a man, but volunteers and supplies poured into Greece, until the Sultan, as he said, had to contend, not with rebellious subjects, but with all Europe as well.

When Athens fell, a conference was held in London (July, 1827). Russia, backed by France and Britain, desired intervention on behalf of the Greeks. Austria and Prussia were utterly opposed to this. Thereupon, the three former Powers declared for Greek autonomy under the suzerainty of the Sultan. This was to be secured by a "peaceful blockade." An attempt to enforce the armistice already agreed upon by the Allies led to the Battle of Navarino (October, 1827). The Turkish and Egyptian fleets were destroyed by those of France, Britain, and Russia. Goderich, who succeeded Canning on the

¹ Constantine, Nicholas's elder brother, had renounced the crown on his marriage with a Polish countess, but the people, unaware of this, cried aloud for "Constantine and Constitution." Many of them were so ignorant that they thought Constitution was the name of Constantine's wife. Order was only restored after much rioting and bloodshed.

latter's death (August, 1827), characterized this as an "untoward event," and withdrew the British force. The French, however, occupied the Morea and expelled Ibrahim and his "Soudanese savages," while a Russian force crossed the Danube, and, after some severe fighting, overran Thrace. The Sultan was forced to yield, and, by the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), to grant autonomy to Greece. Three years later, she became a sovereign kingdom under Otto of Bavaria.¹

§ THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830

Hardly had the Greeks gained their independence when the Second French Revolution broke out. Charles X succeeded to the throne of France in 1824. A bigoted reactionary, Charles immediately gave a free hand to Villèle, over whom Louis XVIII had exercised a restraining influence. All the officers who had served under Napoleon were expelled from the army, the *émigrés* who had lost their estates during the Revolution were compensated, and, to provide the requisite funds, the 5 per cent Government stock was reduced to 3 per cent. This act of spoliation set the monied classes against the Government. Anti-clerical intolerance was aroused by the recall of the Jesuits and the placing of the schools under their charge. Opposition to these measures led to a strict censorship of the press, and finally the National Guard, of which the Parisians were justly proud, was disbanded.

In 1827, the Government took part in the Greek War of

¹ Otto showed little wisdom, ruled as an absolute monarch, and surrounded himself with German officials. The Greeks cherished ideals of freedom and self-government, and, in 1844, forced on the King a constitution with a responsible ministry. But Otto's unpopularity increased, and in 1862 he was driven from the throne. Next year, Prince George of Denmark was chosen king, and Britain, who had strongly advocated his appointment, ceded the Ionian Isles to Greece.

Independence. The Battle of Navarino and the subsequent campaign in the Morea brought the Government a momentary popularity, but in the 1828 elections a large Liberal majority was returned to the Chamber of Deputies—a striking reply to an attempt of Villèle to manipulate the constituencies. Villèle resigned, but the King scorned to yield to the popular will. In his opinion “concessions ruined Louis XVI.” In 1829 he chose as his chief minister an “ultra,” the Duc de Polignac, and placed at the head of the War Office a marshal who had deserted to the Prussians on the eve of Waterloo., Polignac was one of the most notorious *émigrés*. He had always been foremost in siding with the foreign enemies of his country, and in urging them on to armed intervention against the revolutionaries. Wellington, and even Metternich and the Tzar Nicholas, were alarmed by the King’s tactless act, and urged the necessity of caution. But, though over 200 deputies petitioned against Polignac’s appointment, Charles simply dissolved the Chamber without deigning a reply.

Polignac himself realized the instability of his position, but he had a panacea ready for all the ills of the State. A dazzling vision of military glory was all that was needed to blind the eyes of the French to domestic troubles. He therefore made war on the Dey of Algiers, captured his city, and annexed his country, thus laying the foundations of France’s most flourishing colony. But nothing could now rehabilitate the Government. The new Chamber of Deputies, elected in July, 1830, was more liberal than its predecessor, and the King, on Polignac’s advice, issued three *Ordinances*, dissolving the Chamber before it met, altering the franchise so as to reduce liberal representation to a minimum, and suspending the freedom of the press. Some Deputies, headed by Thiers and Guizot, drew up a strong protest against this violation of the Charter, and the extremists, mostly students and workmen, threw up

street barricades. The troops ordered out by the Government were unable to quell the rising. The Hôtel de Ville, the Louvre, and the Tuileries were stormed. Many of the troops deserted to the insurgents, and the loyal minority was driven out of Paris. Too late, Charles, at St. Cloud, rescinded the *Ordonnances* and dismissed Polignac.

The revolt became a revolution. A provisional Government was set up, and, as in 1789, Lafayette, now an old man, was placed in command of the National Guard. The Republicans dominated the situation, but Thiers and Lafitte, a banker representing the monied classes, pointed out the danger of foreign intervention if a republic were established. The Deputies supported them, and suggested that the crown should be offered to Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orleans, son of the Jacobin Philippe Egalité. "He had fought under the tricolour in the revolutionary wars, and he alone could bear it aloft again," so they argued. The Republicans acquiesced, and Louis Philippe was proclaimed "King of the French," a title which he accepted as indicating that he held the crown from the people and not by Divine right. Charles X fled to England, and the "July Revolution" was an accomplished fact.

By his tact and moderation, Louis Philippe preserved monarchical government to France for another eighteen years. A "Bourgeois king," he applied himself to gain and keep the support of the middle class. He accepted the Charter, amended so as to give the Chambers the power of initiating legislation. The franchise qualification was considerably lowered, and liberty of the press established.

CHAPTER X

FROM REVOLUTION TO REVOLUTION

THE July Revolution raised a wave of revolt in Europe, which speedily claimed the attention of the reactionary Powers. In several German States the Liberals, notwithstanding stern repressive measures, succeeded eventually in wresting constitutions from their princes.¹ In Italy serious Carbonari risings put to flight the rulers of Parma and Modena, who were restored to their thrones only by Austrian bayonets (1831). In Poland matters took an even more serious turn. Nicholas I, a bluff handsome soldier, was entirely different from his brother, Alexander. A convinced autocrat, he disliked Western ideas, which he regarded as detrimental to Russia, and hated liberalism, maintaining that the people were quite incapable of self-government in any shape or form. He discouraged education, and tried to establish unity of religious belief throughout his dominions, by forcing all his subjects into the Greek Church. This was particularly obnoxious to the Poles, who were staunch Catholics. When, in 1830, Nicholas summoned the Polish Diet for the first time in his reign, strong revolutionary feeling was evinced. The Polish army, aggrieved because the Tzar had not allowed it to participate in the Greek War of Independence, joined the revolutionaries. The authority of the Tzar was repudiated, and a provisional government was set up.

¹ In Heinrich Heine's quaint words, "the wind of the Paris Revolution blew about the candles in the dark night of Germany, so that the red curtains of a German throne or two caught fire; but the old watchmen, who do the policing of the German kingdoms, are already bringing out the fire-engines, and will keep the candles closer snuffed for the future."

The Poles fought with the greatest bravery against overwhelming odds, but in September, 1831, Warsaw was captured, and the rebellion crushed. The Tzar's vengeance was terrible. He declared Poland no longer a nation; what little remained of the Constitution was abrogated; and thousands of starving prisoners were marched across the snows to life-long exile in Siberia.

§ BELGIAN 'INDEPENDENCE AND NEUTRALITY

But the most disquieting consequence of the July Revolution was the revolt of the Belgians against the Dutch, for its success involved the violation of the Vienna Settlement. We have seen (p. 101) reasons for the discontent of the Belgians at their enforced union with the Dutch. The discontent was aggravated by the tactless conduct of the King, William I, who, according to the Constitution, wielded much power. He fixed the centre of Government at the Hague, and a knowledge of Dutch was required of all public servants.

Two distinct and mutually hostile parties were formed in Belgium, in opposition to Dutch domination.

1. A Catholic conservative party, who resented the secularization of education, and the proselytizing efforts of the Dutch Calvinists.

2. A Liberal party, anti-clerical and democratic, who claimed political equality with the Dutch.

As long as these two groups remained at variance, all hope of action was futile. But in 1828, a party of Liberal Catholics, organized by Lacordaire and Lamennais, brought about union.

The July Revolution gave an irresistible impetus to the Belgian movement. In August, Brussels was ablaze, and the revolt spread quickly throughout the country. At

first the demand was for equal rights, but when the Dutch, using military force, failed to retake the capital the insurgents declared Belgium an independent State and drew up a constitution. The Dutch appealed to the Powers. Prussia and Russia wished to support them, but, as we have seen, they, as well as Austria, were greatly hampered by revolt and unrest nearer home. France was enthusiastic for Belgian rights, and Britain under Wellington, wishing to preserve peace, shrank from applying coercion to the rebels, and eventually accorded them moral support. A Congress was held in London, and Belgian independence agreed upon. France favoured the accession of a Bourbon prince as king, but to this Britain would not consent, and Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, uncle of the future Queen Victoria, was elevated to that position. But only with the help of a French army and a blockade by the French and British fleets were the Dutch forced to evacuate the new kingdom. In 1832 Belgian independence and neutrality were agreed upon under international guarantee, but, owing to the obstinacy of William I, this was ratified finally only in 1839 by the Treaty of London.

The successful revolt of the Belgians broke through the Settlement of 1815. It marked the triumph of nationalism, ignored by the Vienna Congress. A young and vigorous nation had burst the bonds with which a dry, cold, unimaginative diplomacy had sought to fetter it. The immediate result of this manifested itself in an alliance between Russia, Austria, and Prussia to resist any further breach in the arbitrary arrangement. On the other hand, Britain and France dissociated themselves definitely from the reactionary Powers, and evinced sympathy with national and democratic aspirations everywhere. This policy, nominally the traditional one of Britain, was declared in the case of France to be a return to the enlightened policy of Bonaparte, the true but misunderstood "Napoleonic Idea," as formulated by him from St. Helena.

The two Western Powers soon had further opportunities of reducing their theories to practice.

§ THE IBERIAN PENINSULA (1826-1844)

In 1826 John VI of Portugal had died, leaving two sons; Pedro I, who four years previously had made himself independent Emperor of Brazil, and Dom Miguel. Pedro elected to remain in Brazil, and nominated his seven-year old daughter, Donna Maria, to the throne of Portugal, at the same time conferring on that country a constitution similar to that of Britain. Dom Miguel, however, took up arms against his niece, and in 1828 succeeded in making himself king. After a reign disgraced by much cruelty and corruption, he was finally driven out of the country in 1834. During the civil war, Pedro came to his daughter's aid, while France and Britain also supported her, since she stood for constitutionalism against absolutism.

In Spain a similar dynastic conflict was in progress. In 1829 Ferdinand VII had married his second wife, Maria Christina, a clever and ambitious woman. Just before the birth of his daughter, Isabel, in 1830, Ferdinand published the Pragmatic Sanction,¹ leaving the crown to his eldest child, whether son or daughter. Don Carlos, the King's brother, who had expected to succeed, frankly opposed the Sanction, declaring that he was heir by "Divine Right." He was an honest, straightforward man, devoted to the Church, and to the principle of absolutism.

The Carlist War. Spain was rent by contending factions—the Carlists and the Christinos. In 1833 Ferdinand died, leaving Christina as Regent for his daughter. More than six years of civil war followed.

¹ Up to 1713, when Philip V, a Bourbon, introduced the Salic Law into Spain, women had always been eligible for the crown. In 1789 the ancient custom had been re-established by the Pragmatic Sanction, legally executed, but not formally published. Ferdinand now simply rectified this omission.

The Queen-Regent, by Royal Statute, granted a constitution (the Statute of 1834) on the lines of the Charter of Louis XVIII, and thereby secured the support of the Liberals, but quarrels and dissensions broke out among them. They split up into two parties—the Moderates, who were satisfied with the Statute of 1834, and the Progressives, who demanded the Constitution of 1812.

In 1836 the Cortès summoned under the Statute suppressed the monasteries and confiscated their property, 90,000 monks being thereby rendered irreconcilably Carlist.

The Carlist strength lay in the Basque provinces of the Western Pyrenees. The hardy little mountaineers were virtually a people to themselves, having their own customs and laws, independently of the rest of Spain. They had been the chief opponents of the Constitution of 1812, which, in their eyes, would have reduced all Spain to one dead level. Led by their adored leader, Zumalacarregui, it was practically impossible to defeat them. They could assemble in their thousands, and as rapidly fade away like a mist, among the mountain passes and fastnesses.

Britain, France, and Portugal decided to support the Christinos, but little was done by the Allies on land. A legion of British volunteers, however, relieved the northern seaport of Bilbao, which the Carlists were besieging. Here Zumalacarregui was killed (treacherously poisoned, it was alleged), and the war, which had been waged with the utmost barbarity on both sides, took a new turn. The Basques were tired of fighting for a lost cause.

Among the Christinos a successful general, Espartero, arose, and when he undertook to preserve to the Basques their privileges and local customs they speedily laid down their arms. Don Carlos continued the unequal contest in the south till the end of 1839, when he renounced his rights to his son and fled.

Less than a year after the war the Queen-Regent, overwhelmed by her difficulties, retired to France, and Espartero

became Regent. In 1843 General Narvaez supplanted Espartero, and Queen Isabel, though only 13 years old, was declared of age. Next year, the Queen-mother, through the good offices of Louis Philippe, returned triumphantly to Madrid.

§ "THE JULY MONARCHY" (1830-1848)

In the meantime Louis Philippe's position as "King of the French" had become by no means a bed of roses, and the early promise of his reign had not been fulfilled. He was, as we have seen, virtually the nominee of the wealthy middle class. Politically, this class counted for little, being chiefly occupied in money-making, and only the divisions among its opponents—Legitimists, Bonapartists, and Republicans—enabled it to triumph in 1830.

The most serious menace to the "July monarchy" lay in the growing discontent of the working classes, and it was Socialism which eventually turned the scale against "the Bourgeois King."

Up to 1840 insurrection followed insurrection, and there were no less than six attempts on the King's life. In 1832 a Legitimist rising took place in La Vendée, on behalf of Henri, Comte de Chambord, son of the murdered Duc de Berri. There were also republican risings in Paris and Lyons. In 1836 Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great Emperor, made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the city of Strassburg. Returning from exile in 1840, he made a descent on Boulogne, and tried to rouse the army in his favour, but failed, and was imprisoned for six years, when he managed to escape.

Nevertheless the Napoleonic legend, inspired by the writings of Thiers, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, and Louis Napoleon himself,¹ grew apace. Frenchmen "began to

¹ In 1833 Louis Napoleon published his *Reveries Politiques*, and in 1839 *Des Idées Napoléoniennes*.

live again, and to think of something more than getting rich."

Louis Philippe, labouring under the strangely erroneous notion that Bonapartists would ally themselves to the Monarchists rather than to the Republicans, encouraged the cult. The climax was reached when, in 1840, he permitted the body of the Emperor to be carried through the streets of Paris, and buried under the dome of the Invalides. "When the silence of the night again took possession of the city, there were two kings in Paris, one at the Tuileries, and one at the Invalides."

Two statesmen stand out prominently during Louis Philippe's reign—Thiers and Guizot. Their policies were diametrically opposed. Thiers, as might be expected from a worshipper of Napoleon, stood for liberal reforms at home, interference and glory abroad. Guizot, on the other hand, advocated peace and no reforms. Both wished to maintain the Orleanist monarchy, but regarded the situation from different points of view. Thiers wished to conciliate French patriotic sentiment, which hated the 1815 Settlement, and felt that the monarchy had been restored by foreign bayonets. "The party of movement," embodying this sentiment, was composed chiefly of Republicans and Bonapartists. Thiers therefore urged a spirited foreign policy, and the principle that "the King reigns, but does not govern." Guizot felt that the King should rule personally, through his ministers, and, above all, that he should do nothing which would give the autocrats of Europe an excuse for intervention in France. Thiers may be called "a Whig war minister," Guizot "a Tory peace minister"; Louis Philippe, an insincere Constitutionalist, inclined towards Guizot's view, but entered on a vacillating, double-minded policy which satisfied no one at home, while it alarmed foreign governments. This went on till 1840, when a crisis arose which nearly plunged Europe into war.

Mehemet Ali and Syria. Mehemet Ali, after the ejection of the Egyptian army from Greece (p. 116), rose in revolt against his Suzerain, Mahmud II, who, under the influence of the British Ambassador, Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), had been initiating reforms in Turkey.¹ Overrunning Syria, Mehemet Ali and his son Ibrahim captured Damascus in 1832, and advanced on Constantinople. To gain help against his powerful vassal, the Sultan virtually placed himself in the hands of the Tzar, Nicholas I, and agreed to open the Dardanelles to Russia (Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, 1833). Owing to the jealousy of the other Powers, however, little or nothing was done, and Mehemet Ali retained Syria. In 1839, Mahmud made an attempt to regain the province, but died within a few months.

Abdul Medjid, a boy of sixteen, succeeded him; and when the Turkish fleet went over to Mehemet Ali, the latter had the ball at his feet. But Russia came to an agreement with Britain, whose policy, initiated by Stratford Canning, was to "bolster up the sick man of Europe." France, under the guidance of Thiers, espoused the cause of Mehemet Ali, hoping to gain increased influence in the Mediterranean through an alliance with that wily barbarian. A Conference of the Powers was held in London, but France took an independent line, and negotiated secretly with the Sultan and Mehemet Ali. Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, without consulting France, guaranteed the integrity of Turkey; and Mehemet Ali was forced to evacuate Syria through the operations of an Austro-British fleet. He was generously treated, and confirmed as hereditary Pasha of Egypt. The French were furious at the affront, and clamoured for war. Thiers took

¹ One of his reforms was carried out with the customary Turkish accompaniments of fire and sword. Instead of disbanding his savage and hectoring bodyguard of Janissaries, he blew them up in their barracks, and massacred those who escaped.

up so threatening an attitude that the Rhine Provinces became alarmed. All the Southern States turned for protection to Prussia, now under Frederick William IV from whom much was expected. A great wave of patriotic fervour spread through Germany, and expressed itself in the famous song, *Die Wacht am Rhein*. Louis Philippe quailed before the storm. He dismissed Thiers, and called Guizot to office. This Minister succeeded in preserving peace, but the Monarchy was utterly discredited in the eyes of the people, who now only remembered that France had once been mistress of Europe, and was not to be flouted with impunity.

Guizot in Power. Till the end of the reign, Guizot remained in power. At home a policy of blind conservatism, reactionary and repressive, was the order of the day; and this in face of an opposition, demanding reform of the franchise,¹ which daily grew stronger. Abroad Guizot alternately blundered and was unnecessarily subservient. At the beginning of this chapter we have seen France and Britain allied as the champions of nationalism and democracy. Guizot, the friend and admirer of England, was particularly anxious to maintain good terms between the Western Powers. "Between the (French and British) Ministries," he wrote, "there were causes of sympathy which lay deeper than mere personal liking. Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues were Conservatives who had become liberal; we were Liberals in the process of becoming conservative."

The Spanish Marriages. Unfortunately, in 1846, great friction arose between the two countries on the question of the Spanish marriages. Maria Christina (p. 124), in gratitude to Louis Philippe for his many kindnesses, wished to give her two daughters, Isabel and Louisa, in marriage to two of his sons. Britain, fearing the union of

¹ There were only 200,000 voters out of an adult male population of over seven millions.

France and Spain under one king, strongly opposed the arrangement. Eventually a compromise was effected; Queen Isabel was married to her cousin, the Duke of Cadiz, a degenerate youth whom she despised; while her sister became the bride of the younger of the French princes. A promise that the second marriage should not take place till the Queen had given birth to an heir was not kept. Great dissatisfaction was felt in Britain, but Guizot's partial concession earned him further unpopularity in France.

The Sonderbund. The following year found the two Powers ranged on opposite sides during the civil war in Switzerland (p. 224). Guizot sympathized with the seven Catholic cantons, while Palmerston sided with the Protestants. France was on the losing side, which did not tend to rehabilitate the "July Monarchy."

The opposition grew stronger and stronger; constitutionalists like Thiers united with Radicals and Republicans in demanding reforms. They were reinforced by a large and growing body of Socialists, who cared little for political changes, except as they affected social and economic conditions.

Socialism. From the days of the Directory there had been a Socialistic movement in France. The earlier leaders, St. Simon and Fourier, were by no means revolutionary. Their teaching was purely theoretical and had no driving power. In 1840, Proudhon published his book *What is Property?* and answered his title-page with the astounding statement, *It is theft.* Karl Marx,¹ driven out of Germany on account of his extreme utterances in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, took refuge in Paris in 1843. But it was Louis Blanc who, in his book *The Organization of*

¹ Briefly, Marx's book, *Capital*, showed how capital had grown up, how private possession of capital violated sound economic principles, and how the State might acquire it. He counselled the workers to combine and wage an industrial war on the capitalists until they were entirely eliminated.

Labour, reduced Socialistic theories to practice. He advocated *national workshops*, co-operative productive associations, governed by the members and subsidized by the State. These, he held, would abolish competition and the private capitalist, and establish justice, peace, and order in the industrial world. His contention that men should be paid according to their needs and work according to their capacities,¹ while theoretically just, had the effect of putting a premium on idleness. His principle of the *Right to Work* led to State employment of men on useless and unremunerative tasks.

The introduction, after 1830, of steamships, railways, and other steam appliances gave a great impetus to commerce and manufactures. This led to a corresponding increase in the urban population. Long hours, low wages, and bad conditions gave rise to great discontent; and it is little wonder that Louis Blanc's book had a wonderful influence on the toiling masses, and that the organization of labour became the aim and object of the wage-earners of France.

To check the malcontents of all parties Guizot virtually abolished the freedom of the Press. Public banquets were then held all over the country, at which violent speeches were delivered. At length the Government prohibited a *Reform Banquet* in Paris, and then the storm burst.

¹ "à chacun selon ses besoins, de chacun selon ses facultés."

CHAPTER XI

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848, AND THEIR FAILURE

§ THE FRENCH REVOLT

IN February, 1848, mobs of working-men paraded the streets of Paris, crying "Vive la Reforme!" and "A bas Guizot!" When the National Guard made common cause with the rioters, the King requested Guizot to resign. With a little wisdom and courage, Louis Philippe might now have controlled the situation. Unfortunately, a conflict with the troops led to bloodshed, and the mob, thoroughly aroused, threw up barricades, and attacked the Palais Royale and the Tuileries. After one last dispirited effort, Louis Philippe lost heart, abdicated, left Paris ingloriously in a cab, and fled to England. The Monarchy was abolished, and a Provisional Government was appointed by the Chambers.

On the very day that the Provisional Government occupied the Palais Bourbon, the Parisian Socialists seized the Hôtel de Ville and set up what was tantamount to a rival government, under the name of the Committee of Public Safety. The chief members of the Committee were Louis Blanc and Albert, a workman. It seemed as if open conflict was inevitable between the two bodies—the one, moderate, constitutional, essentially bourgeois; the other, extremist and socialistic, not to say anarchic. Fortunately, Lamartine, the leader of the Palais Bourbon group, engineered with great skill an arrangement by which Blanc and Albert were brought into the Provisional Government. Superficially, concord had been attained; virtually, the arrangement entailed complete surrender to the Socialists' economic theories. The principle of the *Right to work* was

endorsed, and the Government decreed the immediate establishment of *national workshops*.

The Socialist D  b  cle. Within four months, France was reduced to the verge of ruin. The national workshops set up bore little or no resemblance to Blanc's co-operative productive associations. Probably the Government wished the experiment to fail; at all events, it made no effort later to save the situation, but looked forward eagerly to the disillusionment of the masses and the collapse of their "idolatry for M. Louis Blanc." Within a month of the establishment of the workshops, which gave employment to all and sundry who applied, 60,000 men were dependent on the State. From all parts of the country the idle and worthless flocked into Paris. Productive work could not be provided, and they were put to excavating and levelling in the Champs de Mars. Their numbers soon rose to over 100,000 men, who worked in batches one day a week, and drew half-pay for the remaining five days. Such a gigantic scheme of relief-works and doles necessitated heavy taxation, which was greatly resented by the propertied classes and the peasant proprietors of the country districts. Paris, indeed, was waving the red flag of Socialism, while the country took its stand beneath the tricolour of moderation.

The Provisional Government, seeing a way out of the difficulty, called together a National Assembly, elected by universal suffrage. As was expected, Lamartine and the moderates swept the country (April, 1848).¹ Socialism had been defeated by democracy, but, far from accepting the verdict of the ballot-box, it organized an attack on the Assembly. The insurrection was easily suppressed. Albert was arrested, and Blanc fled the country. The Government closed the workshops, and ordered the workers to return to their former homes. This was the signal for a furious rebellion (June, 1848). For three days the streets

¹ Among the deputies elected was Louis Napoleon, who, however, did not take his seat, but wisely bided his time.

were scenes of desperate fighting and carnage. In the end, the rebels were defeated, but only after the troops had lost 9,000 killed. In addition to those killed, 11,000 insurgents were made prisoners and deported *en masse*. The first attempt to put Socialistic theories into practice had ended tragically, but it is only just to state that they had not been given a fair trial.

So great was the reaction caused by these events that a restoration of the Monarchy seemed possible. Lamartine, however, had the courage of his convictions and, in an eloquent speech, persuaded the Assembly to vote for a republic. "The die is cast," he cried; "let God and the people decide! Something must be left to Providence."

The news of the French Revolution of 1848 spread like wildfire throughout Europe. Popular movements could be restrained no longer. Everywhere wild enthusiasm or feverish panic prevailed. In far-off Russia, the Tzar announced the news in the significant words, "Gentlemen, saddle your horses; France is a republic." In England, notwithstanding the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, the Chartists riotously demanded further reforms; while in the sister isle, the Young Ireland party, under Smith O'Brien, rose for independence.

Most remarkable of all was the effect on Vienna, the stronghold of reaction and the home of its archpriest.

§ THE REVOLTS IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

On 13th March the Vienna Liberals held a great demonstration, which ended in wild rioting, fierce street fighting, and an attack on Metternich's palace. The redoubtable "policeman of Europe" barely escaped with his life, fleeing ignominiously, hidden among the soiled clothes of

a washerwoman's cart. The downfall of Metternich had far-reaching consequences. To the reactionaries it seemed the end of all things, to the liberals it marked the dawn of a new age. The Emperor Ferdinand speedily capitulated to the rioters, and granted the constitution, based on universal suffrage, demanded by them.

National Movements in the Austrian Empire. Within the Austrian Empire, composed of a discordant medley of races, long-existing national movements came to a head. Their inspiration lay for the most part in a remarkable literary revival. "For a people which has no political liberty, literature is the only tribune from which it can cause the cry of its indignation and of its conscience to be heard."¹

(1) The Illyrian agitation, led by a gifted journalist, Louis Gaj, had for its object the union of the southern Slavs of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, and the official use of their own language. The Hungarians tyrannized over these "crown lands," and tried to force Magyar laws and language upon them.

(2) Among the northern Slavs of Bohemia, there was a passionate desire for the revival of the Czech language and for the restoration of self-government. This was due, in part, to the historian Palacky, who published his *History of Bohemia* portraying the former glories of that country. These two movements gave rise to the Pan-Slavic idea, i.e. the union of Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, and Dalmatians, looking to Russia for support.

(3) In Hungary, there was added to a literary revival a political agitation for the abolition of feudalism and the bringing in of Western liberal ideas. Two wise patriots, Szechenyi and Deák, guided the movement in its earlier stages. Szechenyi did much for education, commerce, and the betterment of social conditions. Deák, "the wisest of the Hungarians," was the diplomat of the movement.

¹ Herzen.

He stood for conciliation, and tried to establish an understanding between the Government and the patriots. But revolutionary movements, as a rule, produce an extremist who dominates the situation, and the violent patriot, Kossuth, gradually eclipsed the older and wiser leaders.

The Hungarian Revolt. On 3rd March, 1848, the Hungarian Diet demanded a "people's charter" with self-government, and a similar constitution for Austria.¹ When news came of the Vienna rising, the Magyars took up arms to enforce their demands, which were speedily granted. Hungary became virtually an independent constitutional kingdom, equal to Austria in all respects, the Hapsburg Monarchy being the one remaining link between the two countries. A Ministry, responsible to the Hungarian Diet, and including Kossuth, Szechenyi, and Deák, was set up at Pressburg.

Bohemian Revolt and Failure. At the same time the Czechs of Bohemia gained similar liberties, only to lose them within three months. A comparatively small German minority, for the most part doctrinaire liberals, was dissatisfied with the settlement, and wished to send representatives to the National Parliament then being held at Frankfurt (p. 146). The Czech majority flatly declined to consider union with Germany. Bohemians were Slavs, not Teutons. They organized a Pan-Slav Congress at Prague, which was attended by representatives of that race from all parts of the Empire, by Poles from Posen and Warsaw, and also by a few Russians. The Teutonic element, probably incited thereto by the Magyars, indulged in fierce rioting in the streets of Prague, and Prince Windischgrätz seized on this as an excuse to crush the Bohemians in a slaughter which lasted for four days. It was a triumph for reaction in the Empire, and Bohemia heard no more of autonomy.

The Vienna Failure. The Vienna constitutionalists

¹ This Charter was commonly known as "the March Laws."

were the next to fall. In July, the new Reichsrat met, and a Slav majority was returned. This was not at all to the mind of the Austrian Liberals. They had gained the constitution, and now found themselves "hoist with their own petard." Their dream of Teutonic ascendancy had vanished. The Slav deputies, mostly peasants clad in sheepskins, cared little for the constitutional theories of the Liberals; their interest lay rather in the direction of social and economic reforms. They immediately introduced measures for the emancipation of the serfs and compensation of the landlords. The Austrian minority incited the Vienna mob against the Reichsrat, the city was given over to disorder, and the Minister of War was hanged. Faced by a Teutonic reign of terror, the Emperor and the Slav deputies fled to Moravia. Windischgrätz was sent to teach the rebellious capital a lesson, a task which he performed with the same zest and thoroughness as he had displayed in Prague. Prince Schwarzenberg, a thorough reactionary, became chief minister. He prevailed on the feeble-minded Ferdinand to abdicate in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, who was destined to occupy the throne for almost seventy years, to the very eve of the break up of the "ramshackle Empire." On 7th March, 1849, the Reichsrat was dissolved, and the old absolutist régime re-established.

The Hungarian Tragedy. Meanwhile the much more formidable Hungarian revolution was being ruined by racial jealousies. Had the Magyars been willing to grant to the Croats, Slovenes, and Vlacs¹ the liberties they claimed for themselves, all might have gone well. Szechenyi and Deák might have handled the situation with sympathy. * Kossuth, a typical Magyar, intolerant and oppressive, could only exclaim passionately, "I know no Croatian nationality . . . the sword must decide between us," to

¹ The Vlacs of Transylvania were Rumanians, and lived in a state of virtual serfdom.

which Louis Gaj replied in burning words, describing the Magyars as "an island in a Slav ocean." Hungary was speedily rent asunder by a civil war, which Austria exploited to her own benefit. She appointed a clever general and statesman, Jellacic, to be Ban (Governor) of Croatia. He set the Magyar Government at defiance, and declared Croatian independence; indeed, he posed as the champion of equal rights for all subject nationalities. But he was only using the Croats as a cat's-paw. By fostering the hostility of the Slavs against the Magyars and the Vienna Liberals, he hoped to re-establish the authority of the Emperor.

In September, 1848, he crossed the Drave and began open war on Hungary. The Emperor followed this up by declaring that country in a state of siege, and its Diet dissolved. When the Teutonic reign of terror broke out Jellacic advanced from the south on Vienna, to co-operate with Windischgrätz. Too late the Magyars came to the aid of their allies in the capital. A small force crossed the Leitha, only to be met, and decisively defeated, by Jellacic. But in Hungary the unequal contest was carried on. The Magyars refused to recognize Francis Joseph as King of Hungary, saying that they had never been parties to the abdication of their lawful King, Ferdinand. They, therefore, posed as the defenders of the Constitution, which, as they claimed, had been violated.

During the winter of 1848-49, defeat and disaster stared the patriots in the face. They were saved by the dilatory tactics of Windischgrätz, who thought the victory won, and by the military capacity of their heroic general, Görgei, who turned a mere rabble into an effective and disciplined army. In the spring of 1849, he was able to advance, and won two remarkable victories, Gödöllő and Nagysarló.

The Diet now declared the expulsion of the Hapsburg dynasty, and proclaimed a Hungarian republic, with

Kossuth as governor.¹ Görgei's victories and the Diet's irreconcilable attitude roused Austria to the seriousness of the situation. On 1st May the Vienna Government accepted Russian help, which it had previously declined. In June a large Russian army poured into Hungary, and the Austrians under Haynau, and the Croats under Jellacic, again advanced.² Görgei was greatly handicapped in his operations by the insane jealousy of Kossuth, who appointed an inefficient general over him. Agreement between them was impossible, for Görgei, a firm upholder of the monarchy, stood by the constitutional claim of the previous year, while Kossuth was aiming at complete independence and his own permanent dictatorship.

Against such tremendous odds the Hungarians could do nothing. They were everywhere defeated, and eventually Görgei surrendered to the Russians at Világos. Kossuth, who had cut a sorry figure during these disasters, fled to Turkey, and three years later visited England and America, where he used his majestic eloquence with great effect on behalf of the "cause which his own intolerance and ambition had ruined.

The surrender at Világos ended the war, and Haynau, "the Scourge of Lombardy" (p. 143), immediately established a reign of terror in Hungary. Görgei's life was saved only by the spirited intervention of the Tzar, but thirteen generals were shot or hanged; and many moderate members of the Diet, even some who had always deplored the war, were brutally executed.³ Thus tragically ended the Hungarian revolution.

¹ This was done in answer to Schwarzenberg's provocative abrogation of the Constitution and declaration of the absorption of Hungary in Austria, but the Republic was never actually constituted.

² Alexander Karageorgevich of Serbia also sent troops against the Hungarians.

³ In 1850, Haynau visited London, where the detestation felt for him was so great that he was mobbed and severely thrashed by the draymen of Barclay & Perkins's brewery. The Viennese even gave him the name of "General Hyena."

Austria, victorious with Russian help, held down the subject races in an iron grip. The "Metternich System" was mild in comparison with the methods adopted after 1849, under Bach, the Minister of the Interior. All national aspirations were vigorously suppressed; German was made the official language; local Diets were abolished; Hungary, Bohemia, and Croatia became mere "geographical expressions." A host of officials rode about the country and, by dragooning the people into submission, gained unenviable notoriety as "Bach's Hussars." For ten years the dreadful system survived, until Austrian difficulties elsewhere made it necessary for her to adopt a more conciliatory policy.

§ THE ITALIAN REVOLT

In Italy the "Annus Mirabilis of Revolution" dawned brightly. Three groups of patriots had been gradually growing in strength since 1830. These were—

(1) The Republicans of the "Young Italy" party, founded by Mazzini, the poet, dreamer, and idealist. Mazzini, the son of a professor, and himself a student in the University of Genoa, had early adopted liberal principles, and at the age of 22 joined the Carbonari. Banished in 1831,¹ he settled in Marseilles, whence he poured forth propaganda and patriotic literature. His aim was to unite all Italians in an attempt to drive out the Austrian oppressor and realize their national life as a democratic State. Among those who joined him was a young master-mariner, Garibaldi. In contrast to Mazzini, Garibaldi was a man of action, understanding nothing but hard fighting. "He had the heart of a lion, but the brains of an ox."

¹ The Governor of Genoa told Mazzini's father that "he was too fond of walking by himself at night absorbed in thought. . . . We don't like young people thinking without knowing the subject of their thoughts."

In 1834 Mazzini and Garibaldi attempted a rising in Savoy. It failed, and both fled, Mazzini to England, and Garibaldi, who was condemned to death, to South America.¹

(2) The Monarchists, who looked to the Kingdom of Sardinia for leadership. In 1831 the reactionary Charles Felix was succeeded by his cousin, Charles Albert, who was liberal-minded and anti-Austrian in policy. Unfortunately, Charles Albert had not the courage of his convictions, and gained the nickname of "Il Re Tentenna," the wavering king. At first he made no changes in his predecessor's *régime*, and a vigorous agitation for constitutional rule in Piedmont was carried on by Count Cavour.

(3) A Papal party, whose aim was a federation of Italian states under the presidency of the Pope. With the advent of Pius IX in 1846, hopes ran high. Pius had liberal sympathies and a sincere desire for the welfare of Italy. When he initiated reforms and released 700 political prisoners, his popularity knew no bounds. "Viva Pio Nono" was the cry which rang through Italy.

Metternich could not endure a reformer at the Vatican. To overawe the Pope, he seized the city of Ferrara (1847). Pius appealed for protection to Charles Albert, who replied, "If God permits a war for the freedom of Italy, I will place myself at the head of my army." The utmost indignation against Austria was manifested throughout Italy. The movement for liberal reforms and for union against the aggressor received a great impetus. Charles Albert at last made up his mind, and granted a constitution to his subjects. The Pope did likewise, but it required a serious revolt in Sicily to force a similar measure from the despotic Ferdinand II. Italy was rapidly drawing

¹ Throughout his twelve years' exile, Garibaldi engaged in wild adventures, fighting for one or other of the South American Republics, followed by his famous band of "red shirts."

together into something like unity of purpose. The Pope's influence^a was great, for he represented Catholicism allied to the popular movements, bringing to them stability and moderation.^a

A month previous to the French Revolution of 1848, the "Tobacco Riots" broke out in Lombardy. The patriots had given up and prohibited the use of tobacco, on which Austria levied a heavy duty. Austrian officers ostentatiously smoked in the streets, and were frequently stoned; while in Italian society, ladies ignored their salutes and refused to dance with them. The commander-in-chief, Radetzky, retaliated on the unarmed populace with characteristic brutality. "Three days of blood will give us thirty years of peace," so he said. Then came news of the Vienna revolution and the flight of Metternich, Italy's greatest enemy. On 18th March the incensed people rose and, after five days' desperate fighting, drove the Austrians out of Milan. The Venetians, inspired by the example of the Lombards, expelled their garrison, and on 22nd March proclaimed the reconstitution of the ancient "Republic of St. Mark," under the presidency of Daniele Manin. All Italy was stirred. The Hapsburg Empire, in the throes of revolution at home, seemed powerless.

On 23rd March Charles Albert placed himself at the head of the patriots and declared war on Austria. Parma and Modena drove out their rulers, and threw in their lot with him; while volunteers poured into Lombardy from Tuscany, Naples, and the Papal States, anxious to have a share in driving out the hated "white coats." Within a week the Austrians were everywhere defeated in a number of minor engagements, and forced to retire into "the Quadrilateral."¹

Garibaldi and his companions in South America heard

¹ The district between the Adige and the Mincio, guarded by its four fortresses, Verona, Legnano, Mantua, and Peschiera—hence its name.

the glorious news, and immediately set sail for Europe "towards the attainment of the passion and desire of their lives."

Failure of the National Movement. But doubts and discord soon undermined the national movement. The Republicans everywhere were jealous of Charles Albert, while some of the neighbouring States suspected Sardinia of ambitious designs. The irreligion of the extremists alarmed the Pope, and he wished to deal gently with Austria, a faithful, if dictatorial, daughter of the Church. He shrank from the horrors of war. "They want to make me a Napoleon," he exclaimed, "I who am but a simple country priest." Only five weeks after the declaration of war, he issued an encyclical in favour of peace, declaring that "he held both Austrian and Italian in one paternal embrace." The defection of the Pope was a serious blow to the national cause, and was speedily followed by that of Ferdinand of Naples. On 15th May the Neapolitan Liberals revolted once more, and the king recalled his troops from the north to crush them.

In the meantime Austrian reinforcements stamped out the revolt in Venetia, except in Venice itself, and joined Radetzky. In face of this new peril, Lombardy, Venice, Parma, Modena, and Tuscany accepted union with the Sardinian Kingdom.

Battle of Custoza. Charles Albert, though personally brave, was a poor general. He damped the ardour of his troops by needless delay, and, in July, Radetzky, assuming the offensive, defeated him at Custoza. An armistice was arranged, and Charles Albert retired into Piedmont. Garibaldi, who, on his return from America, had been coldly received by Charles Albert, and had taken service under the provisional government of Lombardy, carried on a desperate conflict among the Italian Alps, till compelled to retreat into Switzerland.

Mazzini had returned from England in the spring. He

and the Republicans now took the lead. "The war of the princes is finished; that of the people begins."

The Pope's minister, Rossi, persevered in the policy of reform, but the constitution granted in 1848 failed to satisfy the extremists in the Papal States. Moreover, Ferdinand II chose this inopportune moment to assert his authority over democratic Sicily. He wantonly bombarded Messina, and took so savage a revenge on his rebellious subjects that he was thenceforward known as "~~King~~ Bomba." Upon this, wild rioting broke out in Rome. Rossi was assassinated, and the Pope was forced to flee from the city (24th November).

The Roman Republic. The Republicans summoned a Constituent Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, and on 9th February, 1849, the Roman Republic was proclaimed. Mazzini became chief of the Triumvirs, in whom executive power was vested, and Garibaldi was entrusted with the defence of the city.¹ The wild adventure of republicanism in the Eternal City was bound to fail. Great sympathy was felt for Pius IX, who had done all that was possible in the circumstances for the causes of democracy and nationality. The Catholic Powers vied with each other for the honour of protecting and restoring the Holy Father. On 25th April the French general, Oudinot, occupied Civita Vecchia, and prepared for an attack on Rome.² Garibaldi roused the patriots to an heroic resistance. The first attack was severely repulsed. An armistice was arranged, but as soon as Oudinot received reinforcements, he treacherously renewed the attack. On 1st July the French entered the city. Mazzini again went into exile, and Garibaldi, with a few thousand men, began a marvellous retreat through the Apennines, pursued by French,

¹ Garibaldi and his volunteers had arrived in Rome in time to take their share in setting up the Republic. Mazzini, whose writings had contributed so greatly to this result, arrived later.

² The circumstances which led to the French Republic's attack on a sister republic are dealt with on page 148.

Spaniards, and Austrians. His brave young wife died of exhaustion in a forest near Ravenna ; a few of his men escaped to Venice ; and he himself to Tangier, and thence to England and New York.

Battle of Novara and Abdication of Charles Albert. Meanwhile, Charles Albert had broken off the armistice. The Austrian terms of peace were too humiliating, the Piedmontese clamoured so persistently to be led against the enemy that it was dangerous to resist their will, and Radetzky's barbarous severity in Lombardy filled the King's heart with horror and pity. On 12th March he advanced on Milan. He was met by Radetzky, in overwhelming numbers, at Novara, and utterly defeated. The King fought recklessly all day in the front ranks. " Even death has cast me off," he exclaimed in despair. That evening he abdicated in favour of his far more capable son, Victor Emmanuel II, and threw off the cares of government, with the assurance that in any future war " the Austrians may be sure of finding me a simple soldier in the ranks of their enemies." This was never to be, for he died shortly afterwards.

The cause of Italian independence was lost. In August, 1849, the last of the revolts was crushed, when Venice capitulated to the Austrians, and Daniele Manin went into exile.

Horror was piled on horror in the terrible revenge which followed, especially in Lombardy, where the severity of Radetzky seemed mild in comparison with the savagery of Haynau, " the Scourge of Lombardy." Despair filled all hearts, and the people's cry became, " We do not ask Austria to be humane and liberal in Italy ; we ask her to go." In the Two Sicilies, " King Bomba " pursued his barbarous treatment of political prisoners, which Mr. Gladstone stigmatized as " the negation of God erected into a system of government." The collapse of the Italian revolt had dire consequences elsewhere, notably in

Hungary, where a large Austrian force, set free from Italy, was able to co-operate with the Russians.

§ THE REVOLTS IN PRUSSIA AND GERMANY,

Frederick William IV had succeeded his father on the throne of Prussia in 1840, at a moment extremely auspicious for a man of judgment and capacity. Economic unity had been growing up in Germany under the Zollverein or Customs Union. First mooted by Prussia as early as 1819, it later established free trade between that kingdom and the northern German States. Eventually, the southern and middle States joined with their northern brethren, and by 1844 internal free trade virtually ruled throughout Prussia and Germany. It was agreed that duties should be levied at the frontiers of foreign countries, but that no duties should be demanded on goods passing from one State to another within the Confederation. Most important of all, Austria, when she wished later to join the Zollverein, was excluded. It was the first step in the expulsion of Austria from the Bund, which Otto von Bismarck was soon to voice as his policy: "Germany is too narrow for Austria and Prussia." Again, Germany, threatened by France in 1840, was ablaze with patriotic fervour, and was looking confidently to Prussia for leadership (p. 127).

But Frederick William, weak, vacillating, and pedantic, clung obstinately to his conservative ideals. In 1847, the King, hoping to secure a loan for railway development, called together the United Diet of Prussia.¹ Liberals, not only in Prussia, but throughout Germany, fixed their hopes on this Parliament. They were bitterly disappointed. With much oratorical bombast, the King announced his

¹ An edict of 1820 had made it illegal for the King to borrow without the consent of the representatives of the provincial Diets,

opposition to constitutionalism in the words: "Never will I allow a sheet of paper to come between God in heaven and this land in the character of a second Providence, to govern us with its formalities and take the place of ancient loyalty between King and subject."

Prussian Revolt. Then came the Revolution of 1848. On 15th March Berlin was in tumult and throwing up barricades. Serious fighting took place between the troops and the rioters around the palace. After two days, Frederick William gave in, and promised the constitution which the Diet had demanded. The King and Queen were compelled to salute the dead bodies of the insurgents in the palace courtyard. Frederick William rode through the streets, wearing the black, red, and gold cockade of German nationalism, and publicly declared that Prussia henceforth would merge herself in Germany. One man stood firm. Bismarck had come to the front as the champion of Divine Right in the Diet of 1847. He had a definite policy. "Prussia must absorb Germany, not Germany Prussia." He highly disapproved of the King's weak handling of the situation, and hurried to Berlin from his country estate at Schönhausen, but for the moment he could not prevail. Frederick William recalled the Diet, now elected by manhood suffrage, established trial by jury, and appointed a Liberal ministry. A vote of thanks was accorded to the King. Bismarck opposed the vote, and exclaimed, "The Crown has cast earth on its own coffin."

Prussian Failure. In November, news came of the overthrow of the Vienna revolutionaries by Windischgrätz (p. 135), and Frederick William showed the insincerity of his former professions by dismissing his Liberal ministers and dissolving the Diet, which was forcibly turned out of doors (5th December). Manhood suffrage was abolished, and a new franchise law promulgated which ensured an overwhelming majority to the propertied classes,

Attempted Union of Germany. In 1847, representatives from the German States met to discuss the re-organization of the Federal Diet on a more democratic basis. The Revolutions in March, 1848, greatly strengthened their hands, for Frederick William IV issued a Proclamation, saying, "I have to-day assumed the old German colours, and placed myself and my people under the venerable banner of the German Empire. Prussia henceforth is merged in Germany." A National Parliament was thereupon summoned to draw up a constitution for a United Germany. This body, elected by manhood suffrage in proportion to the population of the various States, met on 18th May at Frankfurt-on-Main and took the place of the old Federal Diet. But its difficulties were endless. There was no spirit of union among the States, each clinging obstinately to its own rights, real and imaginary. The problem of the admittance of Austria (a State partly German and partly non-German) into the Confederation caused bitter wrangling. A Little Germany party urged her exclusion; while a Greater Germany party, composed mainly of representatives from Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, and Bavaria, advocated her inclusion as a check on the ambition of Prussia. A Republican party made up for its numerical weakness by the vigour with which it opposed monarchical government. The large number of professors and literary men in the Parliament gave an increasingly academic tone to the debates, and philosophic abstraction took the place of practical issues. A year was wasted in discussing (i) on what "fundamental rights" the constitution should be based; (ii) what should be the boundaries of the nation; and (iii) who should be head of the Confederation.

At length, in March, 1849, a measure of agreement was arrived at, and Germany was constituted a federal Empire. The Parliament then proceeded to choose a Sovereign. By a narrow majority, the choice fell upon the King of

Prussia. But Frederick William foresaw that his acceptance of the position of German Emperor would render inevitable a war with Austria, probably backed by States jealous of Prussia; and, being also unwilling to commit himself to a revolutionary movement, he refused to "pick up a Crown from the gutter." The Prussian representatives were withdrawn, the National Parliament broke up, and all hope of a united and democratic Germany was at an end. "The glorious German Revolution" had ended in ridiculous fiasco. Prussia, disloyal to the common Fatherland, cared only for her own ascendancy. As Bismarck expressed it, "We all wish that the Prussian eagle should spread out its wings as guardian and ruler . . . but free we will have him. Prussians we are and Prussians we will remain . . . when this sheet of paper (the Frankfurt Constitution) is forgotten like a withered autumn leaf."

Conference of Olmutz. Frederick William now proposed a new scheme of union, under himself and a council of princes; but Schwarzenberg, determined to re-assert Austrian domination and to humiliate Prussia, insisted on the restoration of the effete Federal Diet at Frankfurt. The Tzar, being asked to mediate, supported Austria; and, at the Conference of Olmutz (November, 1850), Frederick William tamely submitted to all Schwarzenberg's demands, including Prussian disarmament. Austria was again supreme in the Bund, and Prussian prestige had received a shrewd blow.

CHAPTER XII

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE

The Second French Republic. The Constitution of the Second French Republic set up, in November, 1848, consisted of one Legislative Chamber elected by manhood suffrage, and an independent executive vested in a President who was elected in the same way for a term of four years. In the following month, Prince Louis Napoleon, to the surprise of Europe, was elected President by a huge majority of nearly four millions.

§ THE RISE OF NAPOLEON III

The Prince President owed his position to the legends which had gathered round the name of the Great Emperor. The latter's despotic rule, his callous disregard of human life, which had drained France of her best blood—all this was forgotten, and it was only remembered that he had saved the country from anarchy in 1799, established a strong stable government at home, and covered her arms with glory abroad. France was confident that the nephew would follow in his uncle's footsteps. This was certainly his intention, but his path was beset with difficulties.

His first act was to intervene in Italy, on behalf of the Pope (p. 142). This he did in spite of the protests of the Chamber. But Louis Napoleon had solid reasons for his action. (i) He stood for law and order, and he believed that Mazzini and Garibaldi were leaders of a mob, most of which was non-Roman. There was certainly some ground for this view, for the native Romans had little in common with their brother Italians. (ii) He stood for liberty, and he feared that the Austrians would compel the Pope to

adopt a reactionary policy, which, with Austrian supremacy in Italy, would be bitterly resented in France. (iii) He stood for glory abroad, and he hoped to attach the army to himself by giving it an opportunity to gain the honours of war. (iv) He stood for religion, and he needed the support of the powerful clerical party against the democrats, who justly feared that he would eventually overthrow the Republic and restore the Empire.

Louis Napoleon's Italian policy was on the whole successful and, to placate the democrats at home, he urged the Pope to continue his reforms. Pius IX was nothing loath.¹ After his restoration in 1850, malcontents were treated leniently and permitted to go into voluntary exile; but the extremists made democratic rule impossible, and the Constitution was perforce rescinded.

The Assembly immediately censured the President for his share in the destruction of the Roman Republic. He dismissed the Ministry, and appealed to the nation in words well calculated to impress it. "The name of Napoleon is a complete programme in itself: it stands for order, authority, religion; the welfare of the people at home, national dignity abroad." A new Ministry, drawn from his own adherents, adopted strong measures against the malcontents, and the support of the Monarchists was gained by the passing of the Loi Falloux (March, 1850), which gave the Church control over university education. The working men of the towns were virtually disfranchised by the restriction of the suffrage to those who had resided three years in one place. The President now began an agitation for reform of the constitution, a project which aroused considerable opposition in the Assembly. At length, in December, 1851, he deemed the time propitious for decisive action. By a military *coup d'état*, he

¹ "I blessed Italy, I bless it still," said the Pope. "I bless Italy, not those who oppress it; I bless Italy, not those who lead it astray."

overthrew the Assembly,¹ restored manhood suffrage, and called for a *plébiscite* on the question of revision of the Constitution. When the *plébiscite* was taken, seven and a half millions voted in favour of revision, and little more than half a million against it. The new Constitution made the President supreme over both executive and legislature, since he alone could declare war, make treaties, appoint to public offices, and initiate legislation. It also extended the presidential term of office to ten years. In all but name the Republic had become an autocratic Empire. By another *plébiscite* a year later the change was accomplished, and Louis Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of the French, as Napoleon III (2nd December, 1852).

There can be little doubt that it was not mere personal ambition which actuated Louis Napoleon in his intrigues against the Republic. He had a childish belief in his star of destiny, and a sincere conviction that he alone could save his country from the perils which beset it. He was driven along the road to autocracy by his difficulties with the Assembly, and by his desire to raise France, degraded by the pusillanimous policy of Louis Philippe, to her rightful position in the comity of nations. "If the Rhine were a sea, then would I have a pure and simple republic," he once said; but, as time went on, he became convinced that only as an Empire could France attain distinction. His character, a curious mixture, accounts for the strange inconsistencies in Louis Napoleon's life. His father was the Great Emperor's brother, Louis, King of Holland, a man of retiring, gentle disposition, who regarded war as "organized barbarism," and greatly disliked his brother's aggressive schemes. His mother was Hortense, daughter of the Empress Josephine by her first marriage. Hortense, a high-spirited and ambitious woman, was enthusiastic for

¹ The Assembly had few friends, for the restriction of the franchise had alienated that class which might otherwise have supported it.

achievement, idolized the Great Emperor, and impressed upon her son the idea that his uncle was the greatest hero that ever lived. The consequence of this dual inheritance was that Louis Napoleon was for ever striving to imitate Napoleon the Great, and failing pitifully; for, while he lacked his uncle's genius and cynicism, he had a large share of his father's gentleness, horror of bloodshed, and sympathy with the cause of freedom. He had in his youth fought in the ranks of the Carbonari and, when quite a boy, he had sent his pocket-money to the Greeks, then struggling for their independence.

The Second French Empire. Napoleon III was at first a great success. He set himself to bring social contentment and economic prosperity to France. A revival of trade and commerce aided him to some extent. By his encouragement of railway expansion, and by great public works in Paris and the larger cities, he considerably increased the industries of the country. Wages rose as much as 40 per cent, and large sums were spent on artisans' dwellings. But of political liberty there was none. The whole administration was in the hands of the Emperor and his officials. The Press was controlled; the elections were manipulated by a practice known as "enlightening the voters"; and a political education, according to the mind of the Government, was given in the schools. But if the name of Napoleon stood for order and security at home, it also stood for glory abroad. Napoleon III, as he said, "knew well that the instincts of France were military and domineering, and was resolved to gratify them." An opportunity soon arose.

§ THE CRIMEAN WAR

In 1853 the Tzar Nicholas I threw out tentative proposals for the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. He approached the British Ambassador with the words,

"We have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man; it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements were made." He went on to suggest that Moldavia-Wallachia, Serbia, and Bulgaria should be granted full autonomy, under Russian protection, and that, in return for what virtually amounted to Russian supremacy in the Balkans, Britain should have Egypt. The British Cabinet, clinging to its traditional policy of "bolstering up the sick man," viewed the Tzar's proposals with suspicion, which changed to hostility when Nicholas sent a demand to the Sultan that the Greek Church should have the custody of the Holy Places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and that a Russian protectorate over all orthodox Christians in the Ottoman dominions should be recognized.

Napoleon III immediately stood forth as the champion of the Catholics, whose rights of free access to the Holy Places were endangered. Incidentally, this greatly increased his popularity among the clericals at home; but, apart from the religious question, Napoleon had cause for resentment against the Tzar, in that the latter had not recognized the French Empire, but regarded it rather as an upstart institution. Backed by the two Western Powers, the Sultan refused the Tzar's demands. The latter immediately overran Moldavia-Wallachia, and the French and British fleets were dispatched to the Dardanelles. Attempts to effect a compromise failed, through the obstinacy of the Porte; and, in October, 1853, Turkish troops attacked the invaders. The Russians retaliated by sinking the Turkish fleet at Sinope, an act which was regarded by France and Britain as unjustifiable. Russia and Turkey were certainly informally—probably formally—at war, but the Sinope incident brought forth a definite declaration of hostilities against Russia on the part of France and Britain (27th March, 1854).

A European conflagration might have ensued. Austria's growing interest in the Balkans made her definitely hostile to Russia, and Bismarck therefore wished Prussia to take the opposite side. He actually went so far as to offer "moral support" to the Tzar. Again the erratic Frederick William failed his astute and unscrupulous adviser, whose design was to reap advantage for Prussia, by involving her neighbours in a disastrous war. But German public opinion was distinctly anti-Russian; and the King, without consulting Bismarck, joined with Austria and the Western Powers in declaring that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and the restoration of Moldavia-Wallachia were essential conditions of peace.

The war opened on the Danube, where the Russians laid siege to the town of Silistria in overwhelming force. But, owing to the threatening attitude of Austria, the Tzar recalled his troops, who soon found themselves fully occupied in the defence of the great Crimean fortress, Sebastopol, "the very heart of Russian power in the East."

The history of the Crimean War is a history of blunders on the part of the commanders, and an epic of heroism on the part of the rank and file of both sides. •

Battle of the Alma. The Allies landed to the north of Sebastopol, and won the heights of the Alma in the teeth of a terrible artillery fire (September, 1854). Executing a dangerous flank march to the south, they then began the siege of the fortress. The ports of Kamiesh and Balaclava, the bases respectively of the French and British armies, were of the greatest importance, for through them came reinforcements and supplies by sea. On the other hand, throughout the long siege the Russians had to depend upon a wretched system of road transport, spread over an immense distance.

Battle of Balaclava. Towards the end of October the Russians made an unsuccessful attempt to cut the British communications at Balaclava. The Allied flank was

exposed by the precipitate flight of the Turks, but the 93rd Highlanders (since combined with the 91st to form the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders), wheeling into line, repulsed a fierce onslaught of the Russian cavalry.¹ The Heavy Cavalry Brigade, though outnumbered three to one, then charged right through the attackers and back again, but both these gallant deeds have been quite overshadowed by the famous charge of the Light Brigade. "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre," exclaimed the French commander, as he saw the "noble six hundred" ride up "the valley of death" against the Russian guns.

Battle of Inkermann. A few days after the battle of Balaclava the Russians attacked again, and a desperate engagement, fought in a mist of drizzling rain, took place on Mount Inkermann. The British stood firm for several hours and, when the French sent forward reinforcements, the Russians were finally repulsed, with the loss of 12,000 killed.

There followed a winter of terrible suffering for the Allied troops in the trenches, aggravated partly by gross mismanagement and corruption at home, and partly by a violent gale which wrecked thirty supply vessels in Balaclava Bay. The British Cabinet, anticipating a short campaign, had made no provision against the rigours of a Russian winter. The men were without great coats, and fraudulent contractors supplied them with brown paper boots. The condition of the sick and wounded was pitiable. Scurvy and cholera devastated the armies, and the victims lay on the frozen ground with seldom more than a single blanket for covering, or were herded together like cattle in insanitary Turkish hospitals. Nothing was organized on their behalf till Florence Nightingale came forward and volunteered to go to their rescue. She, with

¹ For this they received the distinction of "the thin red line" round their bonnets.

her devoted band, of nurses, speedily reduced chaos to order, and by the spring of 1855 the hospitals at Scutari came as near perfection as was then possible.

The Tzar Nicholas had confidently expected that his "Generals January and February" would prove irresistible, but even they could not overcome the dogged determination of the Allies, while his own troops suffered even greater hardships and were thoroughly dispirited. All his plans had miscarried. He had expected the sympathy of Prussia, and the active support of Austria, in return for his help against Hungary in 1849. Britain had been bribed into neutrality at least, and the Turks were a feeble, degenerate race, quite unable to resist his vast hosts. So he had hoped, but in vain. He found himself isolated, without a friend; and early in 1855 a new enemy appeared, in the Piedmontese. Nicholas succumbed to his anxieties; and on 2nd March he died, saying to his son, Alexander, "I had hoped to leave you a well-ordered Empire, but it has pleased God to ordain otherwise; I can only pray for you and for Russia."

The siege of Sebastopol lasted a whole year. At length, in September, 1855, the Allies advanced to the assault. The British failed to take the Redan fort, but the French, by a brilliant dash, captured the Malakoff, and the Russians abandoned Sebastopol. The war, for all practical purposes at an end, dragged on for a few months longer. Lord Palmerston wished to humiliate Russia thoroughly, but Napoleon's gentler instincts were now in the ascendancy. In November Austria proposed to send an ultimatum to Alexander II, and negotiations were begun, which culminated in the Treaty of Paris (March, 1856).

The meeting of the Congress at Paris was made an affair of great magnificence, and ministered to the vanity of the French. In their eyes it was a striking proof of the restored predominance of France in the councils of Europe and of the power of the name "Napoleon."

The Congress settled the Eastern Question for the time being—

- (i) The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was established.
- (ii) The Black Sea was neutralized, all warships being excluded.
- (iii) The Tzar gave up his claim to protectorship over the Eastern Christians, and the Sultan guaranteed religious equality to all his subjects.
- (iv) The Danube was declared open to all nations.
- (v) Moldavia gained a slice of Bessarabia, including the mouths of the Danube.
- (vi) The Sultan's suzerainty over Serbia and Moldavia-Wallachia was nominally maintained, but, in point of fact, their virtual independence dates from the Treaty, for their administration was made purely national.

§ THE UNION OF ITALY

The tragic failure of the national movement in Italy in 1848-49 brought to the front the skilful statesman, Cavour, who became chief minister of the new king, Victor Emmanuel II. Practical and far-seeing, Cavour had regretted the idealism of Mazzini. He complained that there were "too many songs about freeing Italy." Yet the songs played their part in the national movement, and Cavour himself came to realize the power of literature in the making of history when he started his newspaper, *Il Risorgimento*, the Resurrection. One fatal mistake had been made by the patriots. All their schemes had been based on the assumption that Italy was strong enough to free herself. "Italia farà da sè," Charles Albert had said, but Cavour avoided this error, and in 1852 he set himself to procure by diplomacy external aid for his country. He first gained the sympathy of English statesmen, notably Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone; and then turned his attention to Napoleon III, whose generous instincts had

always been roused by the sight of Italy under the thralldom of Austria. Cavour's opportunity soon came. During the Crimean War, he sent 17,000 Piedmontese troops to the support of the British and French armies. They arrived at a critical moment (January, 1855), and established a strong claim on the Allies by their efficiency and gallantry.¹ At the Congress of Paris, Cavour, notwithstanding the opposition of Austria, was given a seat, and the condition of Italy was discussed. Though without result, the discussion was a moral victory for the Sardinian Premier. On the one hand, the eyes of Europe were turned on Italy; and, on the other, the Italian republicans began to break up and accept the leadership of Victor Emmanuel. Daniele Manin, for instance, pinned his faith to the Piedmontese army, and wrote to the king: "Make Italy, and we are with you; if not, not." After an interview with Cavour, Garibaldi, who had returned from New York to his farm on the island of Caprera, decided to support him, and in 1857 the Italian National Society was formed to forward union.

Compact of Plombières. By skilful diplomacy, Cavour brought about the secret Compact of Plombières in 1858, under which Napoleon agreed to help Italy on certain conditions. Italy was to be constituted as a federation of four States, under the presidency of the Pope: (i) The Kingdom of Sardinia, enlarged by the acquisition of Lombardy, Venetia, Parma, Modena, and the Romagna. (ii) Tuscany and Umbria, combined as the Kingdom of Central Italy. (iii) The Papal States, somewhat reduced in territory. (iv) The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Savoy was to be ceded to France, and, to make the alliance more secure, Victor Emmanuel's daughter, Clothilde, was to be married to Napoleon's cousin, Jerome.

¹ They fought magnificently by the side of the French at the crossing of the River Tchernaya, which preceded the capture of the Malakoff.

Having gained a powerful ally, Cavour set himself to irritate Austria into an act of violence which would place her in the wrong before Europe. He ostentatiously prepared for war, he encouraged volunteers from Lombardy and Venetia in the ranks of the Piedmontese army, he inspired Press attacks on Austria, and made hostile tariffs against her. He was probably behind Napoleon's statement that the relations between the Empires of France and Austria were, regrettably, somewhat strained, and Victor Emmanuel's declaration that he was not insensible to the cry of suffering which was raised from so many parts of Italy.

In April, 1859, Austria played into Cavour's hands by refusing to receive a Sardinian representative, and by demanding the immediate disarmament of the Piedmontese army. Receiving a curt refusal to this ultimatum, Austria prepared to invade Piedmont, and three days later France declared war. A brilliant campaign followed. The French troops poured across the Alps, led by Napoleon in person. Victor Emmanuel showed reckless courage and considerable capacity as a leader. Men flocked around Garibaldi with the utmost enthusiasm, and he was able to add a volunteer force of 20,000 men to the Piedmontese army. Taking some 3,000 men under his personal command, Garibaldi performed prodigies of valour among the mountains round Lakes Como and Maggiore. Within two months of the declaration of hostilities, the main allied army decisively beat the Austrians at Magenta (4th June) and Solferino (24th June).

Treaty of Villafranca. Then, with victory within reach, Napoleon suddenly deserted his ally, and made a separate peace with Austria at Villafranca. His humane instincts, combined with his irresolute character, had led to this *volte-face*. He was sickened with the sight of blood—at Solferino, a particularly sanguinary battle, the French had lost heavily. He was conscious, on the one hand, of

his own incompetence as a general ; on the other, of Victor Emmanuel's skill and courage. He feared that he was helping to build up a powerful kingdom on his border, which might in the future prove dangerous. For the proposed federation, which would have insured French hegemony in Italy, was crumbling to ruin before it had been set up, several of the States driving out their sovereigns and demanding union with Sardinia. The French clerical party, never favourably inclined towards the war, was now violently hostile, fearing for the Pope's "temporal power." Above all, Prussia and the South German States were massing troops on the Rhine.

This complicated situation was too much for "Napoleon the Little,"¹ and he hastened to come to terms with Austria without even consulting Victor Emmanuel.

By the Treaty of Villafranca, Austria retained Venetia, but surrendered Lombardy to Victor Emmanuel, who also kept Parma. The Compact of Plombières was therefore broken, and Cavour's rage at what he considered Napoleon's treachery knew no bounds. For once he lost his head, and rashly urged the continuance of the war. But Victor Emmanuel was not in the least disturbed. He had a supreme faith in the future of Italy, and calmly accepted the treaty, as far as it concerned Sardinia. His confidence was justified. Nothing but coercion on the part of France and Austria could make the treaty effective. Tuscany, Modena, and the Romagna were obdurate. In the face of Britain's contention that the Powers ought "to let the Italian people settle their own affairs," coercion became well-nigh impossible. Napoleon therefore agreed to a *plébiscite* being taken in these States, on condition that a similar vote should be taken in Nice, as well as in Savoy. As a result, Tuscany, Modena, and the Romagna, with Bologna, were incorporated in Victor Emmanuel's kingdom (March, 1860), while Savoy and Nice went to France,

¹ Victor Hugo's name for Napoleon III.

but in the latter the freedom of the voting was doubtful. Nice was Garibaldi's birthplace, and the fiery patriot never



forgave Cavour for giving it up. "They have made me an exile in the land of my birth!" he sorrowfully exclaimed.

Sicily and the Exploits of Garibaldi and "The Thousand." Meanwhile, Francis II had succeeded his father, Ferdinand II, as king of the Two Sicilies (May, 1859).

The smouldering discontent in Sicily soon came to a head under the influence of Mazzini, who wished to rekindle republican fervour, now sunk to a low ebb. In April, 1860, an insurrection broke out in Palermo, and Garibaldi, who had already promised help if the Sicilians would rise, immediately made preparations for a descent on the island. He recruited 1,000 volunteers; both Victor Emmanuel and Cavour encouraged the expedition as a private venture, and secretly supplied money and arms. But they sternly forbade any attack on Rome, which, as they clearly foresaw, must lead to foreign intervention, and possibly to the ruin of Italian unity.

On 11th May, 1860, Garibaldi landed at Marsala, and the marvellous exploits of "The Thousand" began. Within a week they won the battle of Calatafini, and on 27th May entered Palermo. "The Thousand," though faced by 20,000, had triumphed in an incredibly short time. Such a feat of arms has rarely, if ever, been equalled. Garibaldi was made dictator of the island, but he was not yet content. On 8th August he crossed to the mainland, disregarding the wishes of Victor Emmanuel, to whom he was nevertheless devoted, and the protests of Cavour, with whom he carried on a bitter war of words. He won the battle of Reggio, and on 7th September entered Naples.

Annexation of Umbria, the Marches, Naples, and Sicily. Cavour had now to face a difficult situation. If he repudiated Garibaldi, the latter might be thrown into the arms of the Republicans, and led to repeat his former mad experiment in Rome. He therefore decided to be first in the field as far as the Papal States were concerned, and, having received a promise of neutrality from Napoleon on condition that Rome itself should not be attacked, he advised Victor Emmanuel to march through Umbria and the Marches and join hands with Garibaldi in Naples. The king defeated the Papal troops and shut them up in

Ancona, while Garibaldi was held up by the Neapolitans before Capua.

The historic meeting between the king and the soldier took place on 26th October, 1860. "I salute the first King of Italy," cried Garibaldi, as they rode on together in apparent cordiality. The situation was saved, for the king was now in command. A *plébiscite* of Umbria, the Marches, Naples, and Sicily resulted in an overwhelming majority in favour of union with the Kingdom of Sardinia; and on 17th March, 1861, Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy. With the exceptions of Rome and Venetia, the union of Italy was complete.

Death of Cavour. The first Italian Parliament met at Turin in April, 1861, and Cavour carried a resolution that Rome should be the capital of the new kingdom. But he knew well that this could not be accomplished by force, for the Catholic Powers would not permit the Pope to be deprived of his "temporal power," or driven from Rome. Cavour, a Catholic himself, tried therefore to come to an agreement with the Holy See on the basis of "a free Church in a free State." This meant that in exchange for the Pope's temporal possessions the State should guarantee the free exercise of all his ecclesiastical powers. Though some of the clergy favoured this compromise, the Pope naturally distrusted the wily Cavour and his associates, and declined to surrender the "temporal power" which secured his independence.

Cavour's last days were clouded by a violent attack made upon him in Parliament by Garibaldi. The soldier upbraided the diplomat for the surrender of Nice, which he regarded as an unpardonable act of treachery, and denounced his tortuous policy, which had led the country to the brink of civil war. On 6th June, 1861, Cavour died, a worn-out man at the early age of 51, exclaiming, "Italy is made—all is safe." Cavour was certainly an unscrupulous politician, a past-master in the art of diplomatic

lying. But one can only admire his tenacity of purpose, and it must be freely admitted that all his powers—good and bad alike—were used, not for his own benefit, but for that of Italy. Political morality and personal morality are even yet rather different things, and certainly Cavour, in his day, realized this. "If we had done for ourselves what we have done for Italy, we should have been great rascals," he once observed. Whatever his faults, Count Camillo Cavour must be given a chief place among the "Makers of Modern Italy."

§ DECLINING INFLUENCE OF NAPOLEON III

Napoleon III attained the summit of his power in 1860. The Crimean and Italian campaigns had again crowned the French eagles with glory. Again the "natural frontier" of France on the Alps had been reached by the annexation of Savoy and Nice. Some rejoiced, more feared, that the Great Emperor had become re-incarnated in his nephew, and that French hegemony was about to be re-established in Europe. But astute statesmen like Bismarck, and possibly Cavour, saw that Napoleon's pose of inscrutability merely concealed "a vast incompetence."

After 1860 his decline became marked. At home the clerical party bitterly resented the Emperor's Italian policy, which had resulted in the loss to the Sovereign Pontiff of the greater part of his temporal possessions. When Napoleon recognized the new Italian kingdom, one bishop was bold enough to stigmatize him as a "Judas."

On the other hand, friendly England began to look askance at the man who had deserted Italy in her hour of need, and to suspect the motives of one who had seized Savoy and Nice. In order to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of his former ally, Napoleon, in 1860, concluded with her a commercial alliance. This added to his difficulties at home, for it deprived him of the support of the wealthy

financiers, merchants, and manufacturers, who were strongly protectionist. Having thus weakened the chief props to his throne—the clericals and the conservative middle class—he found it necessary to conciliate the liberals by a show of constitutional government. Freedom of discussion was granted to the Assembly, and newspaper reports were permitted.

After the 1863 elections, Thiers headed a strong opposition, and Napoleon, fearing a revival of republicanism, turned his attention to the working classes. He recognized trade unions, co-operative societies, and the right to strike. He even permitted the foundation of an International Association of Workers. Many of his measures were most beneficial, tending to encourage thrift and to improve working conditions; but by this time Karl Marx's socialistic theories had taken deep root among the workers, and the Emperor's very real benefits were despised.

Napoleon's blundering interference in the affairs of other nations was equally unfortunate. He seemed incapable of forming comprehensive plans worthy of a great Empire, or even of pursuing his paltry schemes to a triumphant conclusion. The startling rapidity of the Magenta-Solferino campaign conjured up visions of Napoleonic conquests, which were particularly alarming to the Rhine provinces. An offer of help against France, under Prussian leadership, was actually made, but Austria insisted on one of her generals commanding the German forces, and the project came to nothing. Yet, as we have seen (p. 159), the massing of hostile troops on the Rhine was sufficient to turn Napoleon from his purpose.

Napoleon and Mexico. In 1861 the Mexican Government repudiated its foreign debts. Britain, France, and Spain decided to enforce payment. But Napoleon was not content with this. He determined to establish in Mexico a "Latin Empire," under French protection. Britain and Spain opposed this unjustifiable proceeding

and withdrew. The French were at first successful, for the United States, in the throes of the Secession War, were unable to enforce the "Monroe doctrine." Napoleon prevailed on Prince Maximilian of Austria to accept the position of Emperor of Mexico. In 1864, the latter arrived, but his rule was short-lived. In the following year the American Civil War ended, and the United States immediately demanded the withdrawal of the French. Napoleon was in difficulties at home, and the expense of the expedition was enormous. He basely deserted Maximilian in 1867, as he had previously deserted Victor Emmanuel. He had lured a blameless man to his destruction, for Maximilian was taken and shot, to the lasting disgrace of Napoleon and the humiliation of France.

Napoleon and the Polish Revolt. While this hare-brained project was being pursued, the Polish revolt of 1863 had profoundly stirred French sentiment. Napoleon, posing as the champion of liberty, urged the Tzar to re-constitute the Polish Kingdom. Receiving a curt refusal, he did not dare to proceed further, for though Britain and Austria joined with him in a spirited protest, reminding the Tzar of the guarantee of 1815, neither of them would take up arms on behalf of Poland. Prussia, under the guidance of Bismarck, agreed to support the Tzar, if necessary, against the insurgents. The only result of Napoleon's interference was to alienate the Tzar from France, and create a bond between Russia and Prussia. When the Poles were crushed (p. 199), a wave of indignation swept over France, and Napoleon was severely criticized.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ASCENDANCY OF PRUSSIA

IN 1861 Frederick William IV died in an asylum, and was succeeded by his brother William, who for three years had been acting as Regent. William I was a plain, blunt soldier of mediocre ability and no high-flown romantic ideals. He believed in the future of Germany under Prussia. At first he pinned his faith to "the moral conquests that Prussia ought to make in Germany by wise legislation, and the development of moral elements and the use of such means of union as the Zollverein." But it became increasingly evident that William was no liberal. In his estimation the Divinely-chosen Hohenzollerns and Prussia came first, Germany second, with constitutionalism a bad third.

The King's militarism soon precipitated a conflict in the Prussian Diet. While Regent, he had called in General von Roon to reform and increase the army. The proposals submitted to the Diet were strongly opposed by the Liberals. The struggle culminated in 1862, when the Diet definitely refused to grant supplies. The King, in despair, thought of abdicating, but, on the advice of Roon, he made Bismarck his chief minister and head of the Foreign Office. The latter took up the reins of office determined to carry the matter through, despite the adverse majority in the Diet.

§ BISMARCK IN POWER

At length Bismarck had attained the position at which he had been aiming. Frequently thwarted by the vacillating Frederick William, he now had a sovereign after his

own heart. A man of inflexible will, he knew what he wanted, and no obstacle, however great, could turn him from his course. A thorough-going reactionary, he had a supreme contempt for liberal institutions and parliamentary jargon; craft and force were his weapons, and he used them without scruple.

Bismarck and the Diet. No sooner had he entered upon office than he took up the challenge of the Diet and poured scorn on the opposition, exclaiming, "Not by speeches and resolutions of majorities are the mighty problems of the age solved, but by blood and iron." In defiance of all legality, he continued to collect the taxes refused by the Diet for the maintenance of the army, and, to stop all protest, the session was closed and very severe Press restrictions were established, by which any newspaper considered "dangerous to the public welfare" was suppressed.

Shortly before his appointment, he had paid a visit to London, and with unwonted candour had spoken his mind to Disraeli. "I shall soon be compelled to undertake the leadership of the Prussian Government. My first care will be, with or without the help of Parliament, to reorganize the army. The King has rightly set himself this task; he cannot, however, carry it through with his present councillors. When the army has been brought to such a state as to command respect, then I will take the first opportunity to declare war on Austria, burst asunder the German Confederation, bring the middle and smaller States under subjection, and give Germany a national union under the leadership of Prussia."

Bismarck's Policy of Isolation. During the Polish revolt of 1863 German feeling, especially in the south and west, was distinctly anti-Russian. But Bismarck dreaded the effect of the rising on the Prussian Poles, and sent two army corps to hold the Posen frontier. This gained him the friendship of Russia, a necessity in view of his

projected attack on Austria. Bismarck was beginning his policy of isolation before attack. But he was not yet prepared for war and, when the Schleswig-Holstein question arose in the same year, he acted along with Austria. Holstein, according to the 1815 settlement, occupied an anomalous position as a member of the German Bund, but attached to Denmark, whose king was also Duke of Holstein. In 1848, Frederick VII had granted a constitution to Denmark, from the benefits of which he had expressly excluded the two Duchies, which thereupon rebelled. The German National Parliament and Frederick William IV supported them, but Britain and Russia insisted on the maintenance of the 1815 Settlement, and the Prussian king made peace, an act which the Germans regarded as a "perfidious betrayal." The question did not arise again in an acute form till 1863, when Frederick VII died without male heirs. As the Salic Law prevailed in the Duchies,¹ the Danish Rigsrad, anticipating a disputed succession, had radically revised the constitution so as to incorporate Schleswig in Denmark and to encroach seriously on the independence of Holstein. When Christian IX, the husband of Frederick's niece, succeeded to the throne, the Duchies again rebelled and declared for another claimant, the Duke of Augustenberg. The Frankfurt Diet strongly supported the Duke, and William I was inclined to agree with the Diet, but Bismarck strenuously opposed the Augustenberg claim. He did not wish to add another petty German prince to the Confederation, but in any case he had made up his mind to acquire the Duchies for Prussia and thereby to increase her coast-line. Austria also cast covetous eyes on Schleswig and Holstein, and opposed Augustenberg. Bismarck's cunning diplomacy now came

¹ Similarly, Hanover had been attached to England, whose kings from George I were also Electors of Hanover; but in 1837, when Victoria became queen, Hanover became a purely German State under the rule of the next male heir.

into play. Openly, he urged Christian to rescind the constitution and restore to the Duchies their independence; secretly, he spread rumours of Britain's determination to support Denmark in case of war.¹ Christian stood firm, and took up arms to enforce the constitution, only to find himself completely duped. Bismarck had arranged for a joint offensive on the part of Austria and Prussia in the Duchies. The Danes were defeated, and Christian was compelled to relinquish all claim to Schleswig and Holstein (October, 1864). Bismarck now craftily reserved a cause for future war with Austria, and by the Convention of Gastein (August, 1865) agreed that Prussia should administer Schleswig, and Austria, Holstein. This he characterized as "papering over the cracks."

§ THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA, 1866

Britain and France regarded the Schleswig-Holstein incident with great disfavour. Bismarck calculated that Britain's love of peace rendered her hostility innocuous, but the case of France was wholly different. Should he attack Austria, as he fully intended to do on the first opportunity, now that Roon and Moltke had assured him that the Prussian army was ready, France might side with his victim. He therefore set himself the easy and agreeable task of deceiving Napoleon.

Preparations for the War. Meeting the latter at Biarritz (September, 1865), he entered upon a series of friendly conversations, during which he spoke of the Schleswig-Holstein arrangement as temporary, as indeed it was, though hardly in the sense understood by Napoleon. He went on to explain as much as he wished the Emperor to know of his designs for German unity. Napoleon's

¹ Alexandra, daughter of Christian IX, had recently married the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII).

generous sentiments, always on the side of national unity and freedom, were thereby enlisted, and his neutrality in the coming war was assured when Bismarck made some vague promises (which he was very careful not to put in writing) of compensations for France on her Rhine frontier.

Meanwhile, Bismarck had been looking for an active ally. Even before the Convention of Gastein, he had made advances to Italy. Mutual distrust hindered the negotiations for a time, but early in 1866 an agreement was reached, on the strict understanding that Italy was to receive Venetia as the price of her help against Austria.

A pretext for war had now to be sought. Bismarck accused Austria of bad government in Holstein, whose discontent overflowed into Schleswig and caused trouble to Prussia. He next proposed reforms in the German Bund. To him principles were mere pawns on the political chessboard, to be sacrificed ruthlessly to gain a check-mate. Ultra-conservative though he was, he advocated a German Parliament elected by universal suffrage, in place of the ancient Diet of Frankfurt. From this new body Austria was to be excluded, and Austria naturally objected to the whole plan. She replied by re-opening the Schleswig-Holstein question, and remitted it to the Federal Diet, following this up by an ultimatum demanding immediate Prussian disarmament. Bismarck had got the required pretext for war. Austria was made to appear the aggressor, and on 18th June, 1866, Prussia declared war.

The Campaign of Sadowa. The petty German princes, distrustful of Bismarck and afraid of Prussian ambition, rallied round Francis Joseph. But their help was negligible, and Austria was further handicapped by discontent among her Magyar and Slav subjects. Within three weeks, the Prussians triumphed. They started by over-running Hesse-Cassel, Hanover, and Saxony. Then, advancing into Bohemia, they met the Austrians at Sadowa and

Königgrätz (3rd July).¹ A sanguinary battle followed; the issue was long in doubt, and Bismarck, who was watching from a hill, spent a miserable day of enforced inactivity. Diplomacy had no place here; it had to be left to the generals. Late in the day, the "Red Prince" arrived with his army corps, and the Austrians were overwhelmed.

The Treaty of Prague. Francis Joseph immediately appealed to Napoleon III to act as mediator, and handed over Venetia to him to be passed on to Italy.² Bismarck hastened to make peace before any other Power could intervene, and he was very careful not to humiliate his fallen foe. He vetoed a triumphal entry into Vienna, much to the chagrin of the victorious Prussians, and he took no territory or indemnities from Austria. He was angling for her friendship in the conflict which he was already contemplating with France.

By the Treaty of Prague (23rd August, 1866), Austria gave up her position in the German Bund. Hanover, Hesse Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfurt, together with Schleswig and Holstein, were annexed to Prussia.

The Aftermath of the War. The war left Prussia the predominant power in Germany, with enhanced prestige and large gains of territory. But Bismarck wisely did not attempt to control the whole of Germany. "We must be careful not to swallow more than we can digest," he said. The South German States—Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, and Hesse-Darmstadt—were reserved for absorption when the time should be fully ripe. The others were formed into a North German Confederation under the King of Prussia as President, with Bismarck as Chancellor. A

¹ A preliminary action was fought at Sadowa, near Königgrätz, between the Austrians and the "Red Prince," Frederick Charles, nephew of William I. This developed into a general action at Königgrätz.

² Napoleon salved Italian pride by declaring the independence of Venetia, and by a huge majority that State then voted for incorporation in the Kingdom of Italy.

constitution was drawn up, which established two legislative assemblies, the *Bundesrath*, or federal council, containing representatives of each State, and the *Reichstag*, elected by universal suffrage and representing the people. Bismarck was posing as a liberal, but in reality the *Reichstag* was powerless, being dominated by the *Bundesrath*, by an irresponsible Chancellor, and by a President who had complete control of the army and of foreign affairs.

In Prussia, the victory of Sadowa produced a reaction, and at the next election a majority favourable to Bismarck was returned to the Diet. Democracy in Prussia had been sacrificed to lust of power.

Austria, cut off from Germany and Italy, turned her attention elsewhere, and the *Drang nach Osten* ("Draw towards the East") set in. The first thing necessary was to come to some arrangement with Hungary. Ever since the disasters of Magenta and Solferino, Francis Joseph had been trying to compose the differences in his distracted dominions (cf. p. 138). After Sadowa, this became almost a matter of life or death. Fortunately, Deák, a wise and conciliatory diplomat, was at the head of the national party in Hungary. When asked by the defeated Emperor, "What does Hungary demand?" Deák replied graciously, "Nothing more since Sadowa than before." The result was the famous "Compromise (Ausgleich) of 1867," establishing the Dual Monarchy. This meant that Austria and Hungary were to be virtually independent, with separate Parliaments, but that the Emperor of Austria should also be King of Hungary.¹ A common policy was necessary in foreign affairs and finance, and these were to be controlled by delegates from each Parliament. In effect the Austrians and Magyars came to terms in order to keep the Czechs, Croats, and Vlacs in subjection.

¹ This was Hungary's original demand, embodied in what are commonly called the "March Laws," which were drawn up by the Hungarian Diet in March, 1848 (p. 134).

The last trace of the 1815 Settlement had now vanished. More than that, the traditional policies of France and Austria had failed with the partial union of Germany. A new and menacing situation had arisen in Europe, and the country most profoundly affected was France. Sadowa was perhaps a more serious defeat for Napoleon III than for Francis Joseph. Napoleon had blundered again. He had expected a desperate and lengthy war, out of which both combatants would emerge seriously crippled, with Austria victorious, it is true, but with France paramount in Europe. After Sadowa, Napoleon, in an attempt to prevent the union of Germany under Prussia, threatened intervention on behalf of Austria, and demanded his promised "compensations" on the Rhine. Bismarck asked Benedetti, the French ambassador, to leave in his hands a written statement of the Emperor's demands. These he pretended to consider until the Treaty of Prague was signed, and then quietly put them aside for future use against their author. Napoleon dared not risk war, and found himself completely outwitted by his subtle adversary. Repeated failure exasperated public opinion at home, and the opposition, led by Thiers, Favre, and Ollivier, grew steadily stronger. The elections of 1869 went strongly against the Government, and the Emperor called upon Ollivier to form a responsible Ministry, and to inaugurate a "Liberal Empire," in which the Chambers should have all the powers hitherto wielded by himself. But his act of capitulation left the extreme elements in the opposition still unsatisfied; and, in May, 1870, Napoleon tried once more his favourite device of an appeal to the nation. The *plébiscite* resulted in his last triumph, a vast majority approving his reforms.

§ THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

Meanwhile, Bismarck was gradually isolating France as completely as he had previously isolated Austria.

(i) He showed sympathy with Russia's designs on Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, and encouraged her to break the Black Sea clause of the 1856 Treaty of Paris.

(ii) He drew Austria towards Prussia by trading on her fears of Pan-Slavism under Russian hegemony. This he represented as a peril to both the Teutonic nations of Central Europe, and urged that they should stand together for mutual defence. Beust, the Austrian Chancellor, who longed to avenge Sadowa, would probably have formed an Austro-French alliance, but for his fear of a Russian attack on the Galician frontier. The Russo-Prussian alliance was Bismarck's great achievement.

(iii) To the South German States, Bismarck revealed Napoleon's demand for "compensations," and overcame their suspicions of Prussian ambition by means of their fears of French aggression.¹

(iv) Having no feelings of reverence for the Pope, he had no hesitation in offering Victor Emmanuel the prize of Rome in return for Italy's neutrality. Victor Emmanuel would certainly have fought for Napoleon had the latter withdrawn the French troops from Rome.² But the Empress Eugénie would not hear of such a thing. "Better the Prussians in Paris than the Piedmontese in Rome," she exclaimed.

"Prussia strikes when Prussia's hour has struck," and thus did Bismarck advance the hands of the clock to the striking hour. The war soon became inevitable, for two potent reasons. Notwithstanding the favourable *plébiscite* of 1870, the French Empire had drifted into so

¹ The suspicion of Prussia felt by her somewhat unwilling allies was shown when some Saxon troops left for the front in 1870, shouting "Long live Napoleon!"

² In 1862 Garibaldi had attempted to seize Rome, but was wounded and taken prisoner at Aspromonte. In 1866 Napoleon withdrew his troops from Rome in accordance with an agreement by which Victor Emmanuel guaranteed the city from attack. But in 1867 Garibaldi made another of his ill-advised raids, and the French returned and defeated him at Mentana.

parlous a state that only a successful war, so it was thought, could rehabilitate it. More fateful still was Bismarck's determination to force on hostilities for the purpose of uniting North and South Germany against a common foe, and so paving the way for a great German Empire. With both parties seeking war—the one in the certainty of victory, the other as a last desperate gaming throw—all that was needed to precipitate the conflict was an excuse, good or bad. This was provided by the Hohenzollern candidature for the throne of Spain.

The Hohenzollern Candidature. The upheaval of 1848 had left Spain (p. 124) comparatively untouched, but the revolution was only postponed; and, in 1854, Narvaez, Queen Isabel's reactionary Minister, was driven from power. Espartero took his place, but soon retired into private life. There followed a period of political strife, which culminated in 1868 in the expulsion of the Queen, whose private life had become a scandal. General Prim, the Liberal leader, became head of a Provisional Government under a new constitution. In the following year, Prim offered the crown to Prince Leopold of the Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family. A German prince on the Spanish throne constituted a fresh danger to France. Napoleon bestirred himself to defeat the project, and under diplomatic pressure, in which Britain supported France, Leopold declined the offer in July, 1870. The incident might have ended there, but unfortunately *chauvinistic* passions were aroused in Paris, and the French Government was compelled by popular clamour to pursue the subject. In spite of the strongly expressed advice of the British ambassador, the Duc de Gramont, Foreign Minister in the Ollivier Government, instructed Benedetti to demand of the King of Prussia, as head of the Hohenzollern family, that the candidature would never be renewed. William I declared the matter closed to his entire satisfaction, and dismissed Benedetti in a perfectly

friendly manner, but gave no guarantee as to the future. When de Gramont urged Benedetti to persist in his demand, William refused to receive the ambassador or to discuss the subject further, and telegraphed the facts to Bismarck at Ems.

The Ems Telegram. The Chancellor turned to Roon and Moltke, with whom he was dining, and asked them if their preparations for war were complete. Receiving an answer in the affirmative, he proceeded to condense the telegram into a brusque form, making Benedetti's demand appear "outrageous arrogance" and the King's reply a "deliberate insult" to France. He immediately sent the altered telegram to the Press for publication, and when it appeared both nations went almost wild with fury. The next day the French Chamber voted for the mobilization of the army, only ten members voting in the minority; and on 19th July, 1870, France declared war.

Hostilities Begin. The French entered light-heartedly into the war, and expected to be in Berlin in a fortnight. Leboeuf, the Minister for War, pronounced the organization of the army perfect, even to the last gaiter-button, a boastful utterance which was speedily disproved when the reservists could find neither boots nor uniforms in their dépôts.

The plan of campaign was to invade Germany from the south and, by driving a wedge between the Northern and Southern States, to insure at least the neutrality of the latter. The danger to the Germans, clearly foreseen by Moltke, was that their forces might be defeated in detail before the arrival of the Prussians. The Great Emperor, a past-master in the art of swift concentration, would certainly have seized the opportunity and turned it to good account by a lightning stroke. Now, when speed and dash were essential if France was to gain the victory, they were not forthcoming. On the supposition of Leboeuf's perfect organization, the French mobilization

was unaccountably slow. True, on 28th July, the French troops on the frontier were numerically superior to those opposed to them, yet, beyond gaining a slight success at Saarbrücken (1st August), they did nothing. The one chance of success had been already lost, for three large hostile armies, under Steinmetz, the "Red Prince," and the Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia (the same leaders who had been so successful against Austria in 1866), were now surging forward.

The Crown Prince with the Third Army gained the first German success at Weissenberg, where a weak division of Marshal MacMahon's army was forced to retreat on the main body at Wörth.

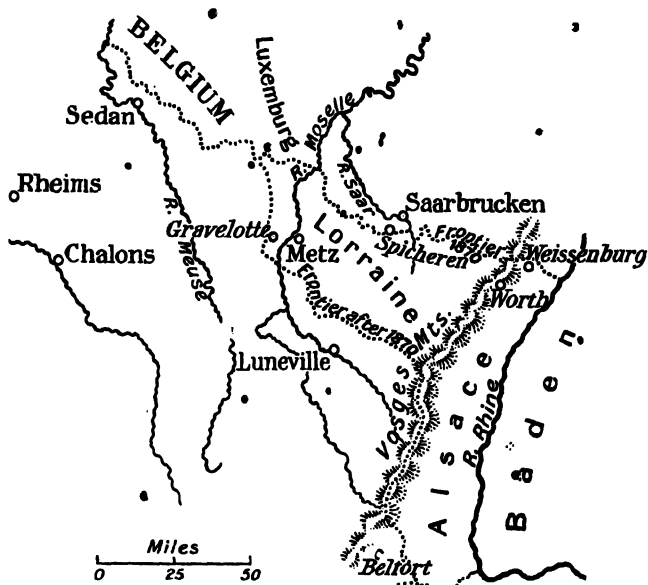
Battle of Wörth. Wörth was an exceedingly strong position, but MacMahon was unable to hold the heights on his left, for reinforcements, which had been ordered up on that flank, made no attempt to occupy the position.¹ The French, outflanked and greatly outnumbered, fought with desperate gallantry: The losses, very heavy, were about equal on each side, and the French made good their retreat to the railway at Lunéville. The German pursuit was so faulty that the remains of MacMahon's fine army were able to entrain to Paris and back again to the great reserve camp at Châlons, but the important defensive line of the Vosges Mountains was lost. This disaster was augmented by another on the same day (6th August). The French at Saarbrücken, threatened by the rapid advance of the First and Second German armies, retired to the heights of Spicheren, where the story of Wörth was repeated.²

Battle of Gravelotte. The Germans now advanced on Metz, the Second Army swinging round to the south with

¹ This was due in all probability to conflicting orders from Metz.

² On the news of these defeats reaching Victor Emmanuel, he exclaimed, "Poor Emperor! I pity him, but I have had a lucky escape."

the intention of investing the fortress on the west. This movement led to the most sanguinary battle of the war, Gravelotte (18th August), where the "Red Prince" defeated Marshal Bazaine and shut him up in Metz with 170,000 men. Steinmetz attacked south of Metz in the



MAP OF FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AREA

second stage of the battle, sending many thousands of his men to certain death in a narrow defile. For this he was afterwards cashiered. The Prussian officers generally gained an unenviable notoriety for callous disregard of human life throughout the war.

Battle of Sedan. Meanwhile the Crown Prince was advancing on MacMahon at Châlons. Suddenly he found

to his surprise that the French had left the camp and were striking northwards. MacMahon had received orders from Paris to march towards the Belgian frontier and relieve Metz from the north. This was a fatal move, dictated by political exigencies. MacMahon clearly realized the terrible risk he was running, and it is to the lasting credit of Napoleon, whose patriotism rose superior to the dictates of personal ambition, that he advised the Marshal to disobey the order.

The French plans fell into the hands of the enemy. Moltke hurried up every available division, and when he eventually saw MacMahon's tired and dispirited army resting in the great hollow around Sedan, he exclaimed, "Now we have them in a trap." On 1st September, the decisive battle of Sedan was fought. The Crown Prince had followed MacMahon, and now blocked any possibility of escape to the south-west. The French, hemmed in on all sides and swept by artillery posted on the heights around them, fought with their accustomed heroism, and repeatedly made desperate efforts to break out towards Metz. MacMahon was severely wounded early in the day; the carnage was terrible; and, finally, Napoleon, realizing the futility of further resistance, ordered the white flag to be hoisted. Next day he handed his sword to the King of Prussia, and was sent into honourable captivity in Germany till the end of the war.

French Republic Proclaimed. The news of this appalling disaster spread like wildfire through Paris, and the mob surged through the streets, shouting "Down with the Empire! Long live the Republic." In vain did the Empress seek help from Thiers. He would not raise a finger to save the Empire; and on 4th September, a Republic was proclaimed. The Deputies of Paris constituted themselves a Government of National Defence, with Favre and Gambetta in the chief offices. The Empress and the Prince Imperial fled to England, where,

in 1871, they were joined by the ex-Emperor, who died there two years later.

The young Republic thrilled Europe by the vigour of its resistance to the invaders, who were encircling Paris. When the proclamation went forth, "The Republic saved us from the invasion of 1792, the Republic is proclaimed," it seemed as if history were about to repeat itself. Defiance was hurled at the enemy in the famous words of Favre, "We will give up neither an inch of our territory nor a stone of our fortresses." Garibaldi came forth from retirement in Caprerà and led a body of volunteers to the aid of republican France. Gambetta made his sensational escape from Paris in a balloon and, alighting at Tours, put himself at the head of a delegation of the Government there. He soon gathered an army of 150,000 men—the Army of the Loire. The Germans, unable to take Paris by assault or bombardment, were in danger of being crushed between the rapidly gathering forces in their rear and the defenders inside the city, who outnumbered them.

The Capitulation of Metz. Unfortunately, this was the moment chosen by Marshal Bazaine in Metz to capitulate,¹ thus setting free the army of the "Red Prince" to operate against the newly-formed French levies. The Army of the Loire, under General Chanzy, after one success near Orleans, was defeated and driven west to Le Mans. Garibaldi was beaten in the north-east. Finally, General Bourbaki, operating round Belfort in a last desperate effort to cut the German communications in Alsace, was driven across the frontier into Switzerland (30th January, 1871).

¹ For this culpable act, for he had by no means exhausted his resources, Bazaine was afterwards court-martialled. Bismarck's cunning had again succeeded. He had duped Bazaine into thinking that his force would be left intact to aid in a restoration of the Empire. But this, far from exonerating Bazaine, only aggravates his crime against his country.

Siege and Surrender of Paris. Meanwhile, Paris was bravely enduring terrible privations. The winter was one of exceptional severity, making it more difficult to resist the grim spectre of starvation. Every sortie was driven back; the bombardment daily grew more intense; and at length Favre went to Versailles, where William I had a few days previously been acclaimed German Emperor, to open negotiations. On 28th January an armistice was signed, and the city surrendered.¹

Peace Negotiations. Terms of peace were discussed between Bismarck, Favre, and Thiers, the head of a newly-elected government (p. 185). Bismarck demanded Alsace and Lorraine, with the fortresses of Metz, Strassburg, and Belfort, and an indemnity of £240,000,000. To these terms the French representatives would not agree, and Thiers went the length of threatening a renewal of hostilities. In particular, he would not surrender Belfort, "an absolutely French city," which had kept the tricolour flying to the very end. When Bismarck would not yield, Thiers burst forth in words of bitter defiance. "No; I will never yield Belfort and Metz in the same breath. You wish to ruin France in her finances, in her frontiers. Well! Take her. Conduct her administration, collect her revenues, and you will have to govern her in the face of Europe—if Europe permits." Probably the Iron Chancellor was little impressed by the grief and desperation of the white-haired old statesman. A generous sentiment never swayed him, but cold, calculating misgiving came to the aid of Thiers. Bismarck realized that a large French population unwillingly included in Germany would be a source, not of strength, but of weakness. Furthermore, the sympathies of Britain, Austria, and Italy were now strongly enlisted on the side of France, and even Russia was beginning to view askance the ascendancy of

¹ Gambetta was furious at the capitulation, and wished to wage war à outrance.

such a powerful neighbour as the new Empire. Bismarck gave way. Belfort remained French, and the indemnity was reduced to £200,000,000. In return for these concessions, Bismarck insisted that German troops to the number of 30,000, with the Emperor and his staff, should make a triumphal entry into Paris. In spite of the protests of Thiers and Favre, this was carried out; but the troops marched through silent and deserted streets, and, arriving at the Place de la Concorde, they found the great square draped in black. The strange mentality of the victors is shown by the fact that they expressed astonishment at their reception.

The preliminaries of peace, signed at Versailles on 26th February, were finally ratified in the Treaty of Frankfurt on 10th May, 1871.

CHAPTER XIV

AFTER SEDAN

THE collapse of the Napoleonic Empire in 1870 resulted in the complete unification of Italy and the loss of the Pope's "temporal power." Deprived of the protection of the French garrison, which was necessarily recalled, Rome was occupied by Victor Emmanuel's troops after a brave but hopeless resistance. The King made a vain offer of full and honourable protection to the Pope, but forced on him the following arrangement. A small patch of Papal territory, consisting of the Vatican, and the Lateran Church and Palace, was constituted in the centre of Rome. The Pope was allowed to have his own postal and telegraphic services, and free world-wide communication was guaranteed him. It is remarkable that the loss of the temporal power synchronized with the clearly defined promulgation of the Pope's spiritual authority. On the very eve of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, the Vatican Council decreed the dogma of Papal Infallibility, i.e. the Pope's personal infallibility when making an *ex cathedra* pronouncement on a question concerning faith or morals.

In 1872 Victor Emmanuel entered Rome in state, and the Italian Parliament was removed thither from Florence, where it had latterly met. "The royal government soon proved to be far from perfect. Favouritism, the multiplication of sinecures, municipal corruption, and the prosaic inroads of builders and speculators soon helped to mar the work of political reconstruction, and began to arouse a certain amount of regret for the more picturesque times of Papal rule."¹ The chief actors in the struggle

¹ J. Holland Rose, *Development of the European Nations*.

for Italian unity 'did not long survive its completion. Mazzini died at Pisa in 1872, Garibaldi in Caprera ten years later, while Victor Emmanuel II and Pius IX both passed away in 1878. The conflicting claims of Church and State have had a distinct influence on Italy's foreign policy down to recent days.

§ THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Sedan brought about the consummation of Bismarck's schemes. On 18th January, 1871, while the siege of Paris still dragged on, William I, King of Prussia, surrounded by his successful generals and by representatives of every State in Germany, was proclaimed German Emperor in the Hall of Mirrors of the Palace of Versailles. After the Proclamation had been read by Bismarck, the Grand Duke of Baden, son-in-law of the Kaiser, led the cheering, which spread in a roar all round Paris.

Notwithstanding this scene of enthusiasm, there were serious searchings of heart among the southern States. It is doubtful if Bismarck could have accomplished his purpose had it not been for his acumen in seizing on the psychological moment when the enthusiasm caused by the German victories was at its height. His statesmanship was manifested in the way in which he hurried through the union before the war fever cooled, when the particularism of many of the States might have blocked the way. Much of his conduct is open to severe censure—he did not hesitate, for instance, to bribe the weak-minded Bavarian monarch and his minister at a critical moment in the negotiations—but of his genius there can be no doubt.

The constitution drawn up for the new Empire was based on that of 1866 for the North German Confederation. The changes were few and were chiefly in the direction of de-centralization. This was necessary, as Bismarck wisely

maintained, in view of the discordant elements in the Federation. Where there were differences of religion and politics, as wide a latitude as possible had to be allowed to individual States if future bitterness and possible disintegration were to be avoided. There were Catholic States, such as Bavaria, leaning towards Austria rather than towards Protestant Prussia. There were democratic States, such as Würtemberg, which, though Protestant, feared Prussian bureaucratic control. These and Saxony valued their independence highly, and remembered past glories. Würtemberg and Baden were therefore allowed their own postal and telegraphic systems; Bavaria, in addition to these, retained her railways, and gained fiscal and legal freedom; while both these States and Saxony kept control of their armies in peace time.

Such a constitution was not without its dangers. "The federative system, logically the most simple, is, in fact, the most complex. . . . It requires the greatest development of reason, morality, and civilization in the society to which it is applied." ¹ The Prussian Liberals, with the Crown Prince at their head, viewed with alarm a constitution which was more federal than ever, and advocated a strongly centralized government to keep particularism in check. As time went on, however, their fears proved groundless, for, under the guidance of Bismarck's master mind, the Empire was rapidly consolidated. An antidote to particularism was provided in the Prussian spirit of arrogance and aggression, which gradually spread like a canker through the federated States, inspiring the German mind, whether for good or ill, with the Imperial idea.

§ THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

When Paris surrendered to the Prussians, the Government of National Defence was replaced by a freely elected

¹ Guizot's *History of Civilization*.

National Assembly, which met at Bordeaux in the middle of February. In this Assembly there was a royalist majority. It immediately declared "the Napoleonic Empire responsible for the ruin, invasion, and dismemberment of the country," and proceeded to set up a republic, a wise act of self-abnegation on the part of the Royalists. The first necessity of France was peace, and they had been elected to secure this vital need, not to restore the monarchy. Indeed, the Monarchists themselves were divided into two antagonistic parties—the Legitimists and the Orleanists—whose rival claims could not be decided in a moment of such stress. Furthermore, a time of grave crisis usually produces the man capable of coping with it, and France now found her man in Thiers, a passionate patriot and a lover of constitutional liberty. The veteran statesman was elected in twenty-six Departments, and on 17th February, 1871, the Assembly placed him at the head of the executive "of the French Republic," Thiers refusing to take the post till these words were accepted. He was convinced of the wisdom of following the line of least resistance, and Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux had declared for a republic.

Thiers chose for his colleagues Favre and two other pronounced Republicans, and appealed to the Royalists to defer all questions as to the future form of government. "Can there be any man," he pleaded, "who would dare learnedly to discuss the articles of the association while our prisoners are dying of misery far away, or while our people, perishing of hunger, are obliged to give their last crust to the foreign soldiers." Nevertheless, the royalists looked forward confidently to the restoration of the monarchy as soon as peace was attained. A humiliating peace it must inevitably be. They therefore acquiesced temporarily in a republic, so that on it and not on the monarchy might fall the odium of signing the treaty.

The Commune. When the peace preliminaries were

signed, the " Reds " of Paris burst forth in violent insurrection against the Assembly. The National Guards murdered two generals and joined the revolutionaries. The Commune was proclaimed in Paris on 18th March, and two days later the Assembly removed to Versailles. The Communists tried to put into practice Rousseau's idea of a *cantonal state*. Each town was to control its own officials, armed forces, police, taxation, education, etc.—in short, to have complete self-government. These communes were to be linked together in a loose federation, delegates from each deciding matters of national concern. Paris alone adopted communism, though in some towns there were abortive attempts in the same direction. At bottom, it was a violent effort on the part of revolutionary Paris to dominate the more moderate and conservative country districts, and to upset the verdict of the recent election. The Communists, discarding the tricolour, unfurled the red flag and restored the revolutionary calendar. It soon became apparent that no alternative remained but to crush them or be crushed by them.

The repatriated French prisoners assembled at Versailles, and for nearly two months the unedifying fratricidal conflict went on under the eyes of the victorious Germans. Gradually the Versailles troops gained the upper hand, and on 21st May forced an entry at the Auteuil gate. Fierce street fighting followed, during which no quarter was given on either side. The Communists butchered their hostages, including the Archbishop, and set fire to part of central Paris. The Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville were burnt down, and Notre Dame, by the merest chance, escaped a like fate. Driven from the barricades, the Communists retired to the houses, from the houses to the ruins, and fought on with the fury of despair. At length, on 28th May, the last group of desperadoes was cut down in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, and the Commune came to an end. From 20,000 to 30,000

men and women (for women were as eager as men to hold the barricades) perished in the merciless struggle.

The Reconstruction of France. The reconstruction of France now confronted Thiers. With an empty treasury and a huge indemnity to pay, a less courageous man must have been appalled. But Thiers believed firmly in the recuperative power of France, with her thrifty peasantry, her rich soil and her self-sacrificing patriotism. Huge loans were enthusiastically subscribed, and in two years the whole indemnity was paid off and the German army of occupation withdrawn. Large powers of local self-government were granted—a natural reaction from the extreme centralization of the late Empire. Even the wild excesses of the “Reds” of Paris, which the Royalists did their best to exploit, could not delay this reform. The army was reorganized on the basis of universal compulsory service with the colours for five years, followed by four with the reserves. This gave France a striking force stronger even than that of Germany, where the term of service with the colours was only for three years. This, and the great economic revival of France, filled Bismarck and the German militarists with sullen regret that they had not “bled her white” when they had her in their power. But for the urgent representations of Queen Victoria and the Tzar, the peace would probably have been broken in 1875. Bismarck never forgave Britain and Russia for banning the proposed war of extermination.

Fall of Thiers. The very moment which saw Thiers hailed as the “Liberator of the Territories” saw also his downfall. He had accepted the Republic as “the form of government which divides us least,” and when appealing from the strife and jealousy of parties to the ultimate verdict of history, he boldly advocated a permanent conservative republic, the Monarchists in the Assembly combined and forced his resignation (May, 1873). “Having set France upon the path of safety, he now betook himself

once more to those historical and artistic studies which he loved better than power and office. It is given to few men not only to write history, but also to make history; yet in both spheres Thiers achieved signal success." ¹

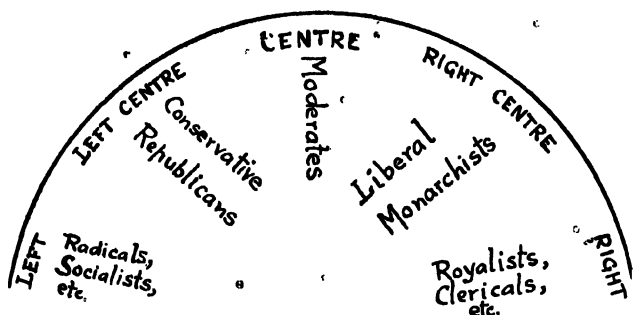
MacMahon, President. Marshal MacMahon was immediately appointed President, and a determined attempt was made to undermine the Republic. A compromise was arranged between the Legitimists and the Orléanists—the Comte de Chambord, grandson of Charles X, was to be offered the crown and, as he had no children, the Comte de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, was to succeed him. But the Royalists reckoned without their host. Probably the Comte de Chambord shrank from the cares of kingship. At all events, he speedily made it impossible that he should ever become "Henri V." He would give no guarantees as to his future rule, but stood rigidly by the dogma of Divine Right. He refused to surrender the Bourbon *fleurs-de-lys* in favour of the national tricolour. It soon became abundantly clear that nothing could be accomplished under his leadership, and the Royalists gave up all hope of a restoration of the monarchy during his lifetime.

The Republican Constitution. In 1875 a Republican Constitution was finally agreed upon, and remains virtually unchanged to the present day. It provided for two legislative bodies—the Senate, elected for nine years by special members of the local governing bodies; and the Chamber of Deputies, elected for four years by manhood suffrage. The President was to be elected by the Senate and Chamber conjointly. By the *Septennate law*, his term of office was extended from four to seven years. He was eligible for re-election, and had considerable powers, exercised chiefly through a responsible ministry. He could negotiate foreign treaties and could also dissolve the Chamber on

¹ J. Holland Rose, *The Development of the European Nations*.

the advice of the Senate. The offices of President and Premier were separated, so as to make the former independent of party changes.

The Monarchists, however, were but biding their time. They left a loophole for the attainment of their ends by inserting the clause that the Constitution could be revised by a bare majority of the Senate and Chamber meeting together as a National Assembly. But when the new



ARRANGEMENT OF PARTIES OR GROUPS IN THE
CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

parliament met in the following year, there was a republican majority in the Chamber. Attacks on the Church were persistent, especially in reference to education. The Jesuits and other religious orders by their great efficiency virtually monopolized the teaching profession. Gambetta, who led the extreme Left,¹ strongly resented the influence thus exercised by the Church. Most of his party wished to destroy religion altogether; most of the three Centre parties wished to give equal educational facilities to all, whether Catholic, Protestant, or of no religion. But politics also entered into the question, the clericals being

¹ One of the parties or groups in the Chamber of Deputies.

mostly royalist. Open conflict broke out in 1877, when Gambetta in an oratorical outburst used the famous words, "Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi." Ignoring the republican majority, MacMahon formed a ministry of Monarchists under the Duc de Broglie as Premier. The Chamber protested and, acting on the advice of the royalist Senate, MacMahon dissolved it. Gambetta hurled defiance at the President, demanding his submission or resignation. The Government tried every means to secure a majority, but it was defeated at the polls; de Broglie resigned; and the Marshal, yielding to the inevitable, chose a republican ministry. In 1879 royalist reverses in the senatorial elections brought about MacMahon's resignation, and Jules Grévy, a pronounced Republican, became President. In the same year the Prince Imperial was killed fighting in the British Army in Zululand, and Bonapartist hopes died with him. The French Republic, now firmly established, has never since been in serious danger.

§ THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

No sooner was the German Empire established than it was convulsed by a sharp religious conflict. The Roman Catholic Hierarchy viewed with strong disapproval the unification of Germany under "infidel Prussia." In his *Reflections and Reminiscences*, Bismarck states that the Centre or Catholic party began stirring up national aspirations in Prussian Poland (Posen). The truth of this statement is at least doubtful, but Bismarck certainly assumed that the dogma of Papal Infallibility included the power of interference in international politics and in the internal affairs of States owning a Catholic population. "The resolutions of the Vatican Council," he declared, "have made the bishops instruments of the Pope, the irresponsible

organs of a sovereign who, in virtue of his infallibility, disposes of a power more completely 'absolute than any monarch in the world.'"

The Kulturkampf. During the Vatican Council some German Catholics had opposed the promulgation of the dogma as an article of faith, and they now ignored it in their teaching. They were ordered to resign, and four professors of Bonn University were excommunicated. They broke away and founded the sect of *Old Catholics*. Bismarck seized the opportunity to strike a blow at the Church, and supported the schismatics in the hope of subordinating the Church to the State. The conflict which ensued is known as the *Kulturkampf* (lit.: the struggle for civilization).

In 1872 the Prussian Government placed the schools under State inspectors, the German Reichstag expelled the Jesuits, and a civil marriage contract in addition to the religious ceremony was made compulsory. These measures were followed by the severe *May Laws* of 1873, which enacted—

(i) That bishops and priests must notify their appointments to the civil authorities, who reserved to themselves the right of veto.

(ii) That all ministers of religion must pass an examination in German literature, history, and philosophy, and study theology for three years in a German university.

(iii) That no foreign priest could hold an ecclesiastical office in Germany.

(iv) That seminaries for priests must come under State control and inspection.

The strife now became bitter. Catholics refused to obey the *May Laws*, and intense sympathy was felt for them when the Government went on to punish the recalcitrant clergy with fines, imprisonment, and expulsion from their benefices. In more than a thousand parishes religious ministrations ceased. Out of 10,000 priests in Prussia

alone, only about a score conformed to the State regulations. Everywhere, but especially in South Germany, the Catholics were honoured as martyrs. The people, hiding them in their houses, sought their secret ministrations, while the State priests were often afraid to enter their new parishes.

Bismarck had said, "Do not fear, we will not go to Canossa, either in body or spirit," meaning that he would never submit to the Church as the Emperor Henry IV had done. But it became increasingly evident that his anti-clerical campaign was, by its very severity, defeating its own object, and that he might soon have to face strong political combinations.¹

In the 1877 elections both the Centre and the Social Democratic parties greatly increased their voting power. A combination of these two parties was likely, for the working-classes clung to the Church, which favoured their cause and demanded better conditions of life. The Conservatives, composed chiefly of Prussian nobles and Junkers (squires), had already opposed the Civil Marriage Law. The Radicals were hostile to Bismarck's proposals for a larger army; and the National Liberals, among whom were many agnostics and rationalists, alone supported his Church policy.

A great reaction had set in, and articles vigorously denouncing Bismarck's intolerance were appearing in the Press, when Pius IX, who had never ceased to hurl defiance at the Iron Chancellor, died. The election of the diplomatic Leo XIII, in 1878, made compromise possible. Strict observance of the *May Laws* was not enforced, and by 1887 all but the Civil Marriage contract had been abrogated. The Kulturkampf gradually sank into

¹ Bismarck in his *Reflections and Reminiscences* tells how this was brought home to him by the picture presented to his mind of "dexterous, light-footed priests pursued through backdoors and bedrooms by honest but awkward Prussian Gendarmes with spurs and trailing sabres."

oblivion, and its only result was to leave the Centre, or Catholic party in a permanently stronger position.

Protection. In the years 1876-77 Germany was in the depths of economic depression, and Bismarck took up the question of economic reform in order to turn attention from the bitter religious controversy engendered by the *May Laws*. In 1865 the German Zollverein, following the example of Britain and France, had adopted Free Trade¹; and, in 1871, Bismarck insisted upon its continuance between France and Germany, saying that he "would rather begin again a war of cannon-balls than expose himself to a war of tariffs." But the rapid payment of the war indemnity produced financial chaos in the new Empire. Germany became a hot-bed of wild speculation and extravagance. Prices soared prodigiously. The old dreamy, rather particularist German, steeped in poetry and philosophy, speedily gave way to the company promoter, the commercial magnate, and the ambitious imperialist. The inevitable result followed. After a period of inflation, the bubble burst, and financial ruin stared over-credulous shareholders in the face. The cry for "protection of home industries," which had been growing louder since 1872,² now became insistent, and Bismarck made that cry his own. It is probable that this change of front was due simply to the political exigencies of the moment: (i) The federated States had to contribute to the Imperial revenue. Bismarck hoped that high tariffs on foreign produce would render these contributions unnecessary, and so strengthen the Imperial bond. (ii) He wished to make Germany self-supporting, for he felt that she was surrounded by hostile neighbours (p. 188). In 1879 he easily persuaded "the

¹ Cobden had prevailed on Britain to try unrestricted exchange of commodities in 1846 and 1849. This proved a great success. In 1860 Napoleon III had forced highly protective France into a commercial alliance with Britain (p. 163).

² Coal and iron were plentiful, but manufactures, still in their infancy in Germany, could not be produced so cheaply as in Britain.

Reichstag to adopt Protection and to restrict the German market to German industry. As a result, the Chancellor succeeded in raising a large Imperial revenue independently of the federated States ; while during the next five years German industries, shipping, and export trade flourished and increased.¹ Incidentally, the question divided the Centre and the Social Democratic parties, for the former voted, along with the Conservatives, for Protection ; while the latter, with both the Liberal groups, was strongly antagonistic to it. The abandonment of the Kulturkampf and the raising of a new issue had effected a complete re-grouping of the political parties.

Socialism. Bismarck next attempted to conciliate the working-classes, in the hope of drawing them away from the ranks of the Socialists. The adoption of Protection resulted in higher wages, but also in increased cost of living. The tariffs on imports made them more costly, and tended to raise the price of similar goods produced in Germany. In the interests of the Conservatives (mostly landowners and agriculturists), heavy corn duties were imposed, and the price of certain foodstuffs rose abnormally. The town dwellers began to cry out against the "Agrarians," and the Socialists gained many recruits in the industrial centres. In 1882 Bismarck began experimenting in a kind of State Socialism, and introduced a scheme of national insurance against sickness, accident, and old age. He persevered in the face of much opposition in the Reichstag for six years, and succeeded in carrying each part of his scheme in the order named. The first and third sections were made contributory, but the whole burden of the second fell on the employer. Bismarck, however, was only trying to allay discontent ; he was not attempting (and this the Socialists in the Reichstag clearly pointed out) to cure the evils of poverty. Indeed, through the substitution of

¹ It is a moot point whether German prosperity was entirely due to Protection.

indirect for direct taxation, the poor were paying as much to the revenue as the rich. A hater of democracy, he had hoodwinked the people, and he was now determined to crush Socialism. By laws, characterized as "ferocious" in England, he forbade Socialist propaganda through the newspapers, through books or pamphlets, and through public meetings or clubs and societies. Anything "dangerous to public order" (a sufficiently vague and elastic phrase) was sternly repressed, and over 900 people were banished from Germany. By this means, Socialism was driven underground, but only to emerge stronger than ever.

Bismarck proved the truth of Metternich's saying, "It is a sorry thing to fight against unsubstantialities." Both Socialism and Catholicism had been too strong for him. But he had accomplished great things, and to him more than to any man is due the most notable event of the nineteenth century. He stands out pre-eminently as the creator of German unity, the consolidator of the great German Empire.

CHAPTER XV

RUSSIA AND THE EAST

THE disasters of the Crimean War (p. 155) and the accession of Alexander II produced a great effect upon the Russians. The inefficiency of the autocrat's rule was revealed, and "all Russia awakened from the heavy slumber and the terrible nightmare of Nicholas I's reign." A liberal-minded Tzar again occupied the throne of the Romanoffs. Despite all his waverings and inconsistencies, he fully deserved his title of "Tzar Liberator." When announcing the conclusion of hostilities, he seized the opportunity to hold out hopes of reform. He followed this up by releasing a number of political prisoners, by relaxing the Press censorship, and by abrogating the restrictions on the number of university students. He next championed the abolition of serfdom.

The Emancipation of the Serfs. Addressing the nobles who would be the chief losers under any scheme of emancipation, he said: "The existing mode of owning souls cannot remain unaltered; it is better to abolish serfdom from above than wait for the time when it shall begin to abolish itself from below. I pray you, gentlemen, to consider how this reform can be carried out." A commission of inquiry was formed under Milutine, an enthusiastic supporter of the Tzar's policy. In 1858 Alexander set the example by liberating the Crown serfs, numbering over twenty-three millions (rather more than half the total number in the country); and, in 1861, the legal jurisdiction of the nobility was abolished, and personal freedom was granted to every peasant in Russia.

The emancipation was a very difficult matter to arrange. It was necessary that the serfs, not only liberated from

the service of their lords, but also deprived of the latter's support and protection, should have the means to support themselves.¹ This could be assured only by settling them on land of their own. The State, therefore, took over a considerable part of the land, and divided it up among the *Mirs*, or village communities, according to their size. The purchase price was to be repaid to the State in instalments, spread over forty-nine years. Each man was allotted, on an average, nine acres of land to cultivate for his *Mir*, and each family received a cottage and garden as personal property. In theory, this was an admirable system, tending to community of interest; in practice, it was far from satisfactory. As the land was re-allotted at intervals, there was little incentive to individual industry and initiative, and effort tended to sink to the level of the laziest in the *Mir*.² Ignorance and degradation have no sense of communal duty.

Local Government. With emancipation came the need for some form of local self-government. The *Mir* was made responsible for taxation, and made assessments on the households. It controlled agricultural matters and arranged the supply of men for the army. Beyond this it could not go. In 1864 *Zemstvos*, or administrative councils, for districts of ten or more *Mirs*, were set up on the basis of popular election.³ These managed education, roads and bridges, poor and medical relief, hospitals, insurance, and other matters. The *Zemstvos*, unfortunately, were not a great success, owing to the jealousy of the central government, and to the fact that their decisions

¹ The agricultural serfs had held small parcels of land, in return for three days' labour a week for their lords. The domestic serfs were frequently hired out to factories and shops. Generally, it was a cruel and degrading system, under which men and women were looked upon as mere chattels.

² In 1908 the communal system was changed to one of private ownership.

³ There was also one higher *Zemstvo* over each province.

had to be carried out by unsympathetic, and sometimes hostile, police.

Justice. The Tzar next set himself to reform the judicial system. Hitherto trials had been held in secret, and only documentary evidence had been taken. They were now made public and oral; magistrates, partly chosen by the *Zemstvos*, were appointed to administer the law of the land; trial by jury was introduced in criminal cases; and appeals were allowed from lower to higher courts.

So far, the good Tzar had persevered in his policy of reform, but now a Polish revolt turned him from his purpose.

The Polish Revolt of 1863. Undeterred by the tragic failure of 1831, the Poles never gave up hope of regaining their independence. Alexander II at first tried conciliation; but, in 1861, moved by an unaccountable suspicion or jealousy, he suppressed the Polish Agricultural Society, because it advocated a scheme of land settlement irrespective of that inaugurated by himself in Russia. The Polish nobles thereupon demanded a constitution and the restoration of the provinces alienated from Poland. The Tzar proceeded to treat Poland with the utmost severity; and, in 1863, the Poles rose in revolt, and fought against overwhelming odds with such desperate valour as to win universal sympathy. The revolt was crushed, and the *Russification* of Poland began. Russians were placed in the public offices, the Polish nobles ruined, newspapers suppressed, the schools closed, the Polish language forbidden, and forced conversions to the Orthodox Church attempted.

Nihilism. The Tzar now definitely abandoned all thoughts of further reforms in his dominions and, faced with a new revolutionary movement, Nihilism, he became increasingly reactionary. The rising generation of young men and women enthusiastically advocated social and political reforms. At first Nihilism was nothing more

than a harmless intellectual theory among university students, the outcome of the higher educational facilities secured by the "Tzar Liberator's" early reforms. It looked for an ideal communistic state. "Go to the people" was its cry, and among the visionary Russians it speedily made hosts of converts, especially in the higher classes of society. Cultured men, delicate women, professors, and students left their homes and in peasant dress lived among the people, trying to inculcate their doctrines. But as Nihilism meant the abolition of all existing institutions, it naturally aroused the opposition of the Government. Severe measures were taken against the reformers, who, as time went on, retaliated by adopting a policy of terrorism, in which bombs and the assassin's knife played a prominent part.

§ THE BALKANS

The Franco-Prussian War had hardly concluded when affairs in the Turkish Empire began to claim attention. The promises of reform and religious toleration made by the Sultan after the Crimean War had not been kept, and unrest was prevalent in the Balkans. In 1870 the Tzar, encouraged by Bismarck, had repudiated the Black Sea Clause of the Treaty of Paris. Britain protested, but would not go the length of declaring war to maintain the treaty. A Congress of the Powers was held in London (March, 1871), and the neutrality of the Black Sea was cancelled. In 1872 the Emperors of Russia, Austria, and Germany reached a somewhat vague agreement for co-operation in the suppression of revolution (e.g. Nihilism in Russia, Socialism in Germany, and Nationalism in Austria-Hungary) and the preservation of the world's peace. The "League of the Three Emperors" was due to the diplomatic efforts of Bismarck and the Austrian Foreign Minister, Count Andrassy, but it rested on very

insecure foundations, the interests of Russia and Austria in the Balkans being almost irreconcilable; while the Tzar's suspicion of the new Empire was evinced in 1875 by his strenuous interference on behalf of France (p. 188).

In 1870 a movement for national independence began in Bulgaria; and, in 1875, Bosnia and Herzegovina, who had suffered atrocious treatment at the hands of the Turks, rose in revolt. They were encouraged by Russia, and vigorously backed by Serb and Montenegrin volunteers. A fierce conflict ensued and the "Andrássy Note," containing a protest from the Powers against Turkish misgovernment, was presented to the Porte. The Sultan made plentiful promises, but, calculating on the want of concord among the Powers, kept none of them. May, 1876, was a fateful month. The French and German Consuls at Salonika were murdered, and the strongly-worded "Berlin Memorandum" was dispatched, threatening action by the Powers. The liberal and patriotic party ("Young Turks"), under the leadership of Midhat Pasha, forestalled events by deposing the Sultan, Abdul Aziz. But the new government committed even worse crimes, and horrified Europe by the "Bulgarian Atrocities." The Bulgars had shown much sympathy with Bosnia-Herzegovina and, to teach them a lesson in docility, a horde of Bashi-Bazouks (Turkish irregulars) was let loose on the wretched peasants. In that terrible month, 15,000 Christians were brutally slaughtered, the villages were burnt, and the country was laid waste. In England, Gladstone used all his powers of eloquence in denunciation of the barbarous Turks and all their doings, and public opinion compelled the Disraeli Government to modify, for a time, its pro-Turkish policy.

In July, the Serbs and Montenegrins crossed the Turkish frontier. Russian volunteers flocked to their standard, but the campaign was disastrous; and, in answer to the Serbs' cry for help, the Tzar mobilized six army corps and

threatened intervention. But the Young Turks sprang another surprise on the Powers by deposing their recent choice, Murad V, and placing his brother, Abdul Hamid, on the throne. When, in December, 1876, the Powers met in conference at Constantinople, they were informed that the Sultan had granted a constitution to his subjects and that therefore no further action on their part was necessary. But this was only a blind, for, shortly afterwards Abdul Hamid dismissed Midhat Pasha, who was probably sincere in the matter of reform. A suggestion that the Powers should supervise the carrying out of the constitution was met with the firm reply that "Turkey, as an independent State, cannot submit to be placed under surveillance." The Porte had, however, trusted once too often to dissensions among the Powers. Russia and Austria came to an arrangement which assured the latter's neutrality; it was well known that France and Germany were averse from taking up arms, and the Tzar felt that he might ignore Britain, whose policy and sentiments were divided. War against the Turk on behalf of oppressed fellow-Christians was exceedingly popular in Russia, while the Government hoped to turn attention from the serious situation at home caused by the Nihilist agitation. Prince Charles of Rumania¹ threw in his lot with Russia; and, in April, 1877, the Tzar declared war.

§ THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

At first all went well for the Russians. Want of initiative among the Turkish commanders enabled them to cross the Danube at Sistova. By a rapid advance,

¹ After the Crimean War, Moldavia and Wallachia wished to unite as one State. In 1858 the Assembly of each province elected the same man, Alexander Couza, as Hospodar. In 1861 he united the Assemblies, and declared that "the Rumanian nation is founded." The Sultan immediately recognized him as "Alexander I, Prince of Rumania." In 1866 a Hohenzollern became ruler, under the title of Prince Charles of Rumania.

General Gourko crossed the Balkan Mountains by a little-known and difficult, but unguarded, pass., Turning west, he attacked the southern approaches of the Shipka Pass (one of the main routes through the mountains), while Skobelev¹ hurled himself against the northern slopes. But the Turk, if a poor tactician, is a formidable fighter. Both attacks were beaten off, and the defenders might have held their impregnable position indefinitely had not want of supplies compelled them to relinquish it. Under cover of the white flag, they stole off and made good their escape to Plevna. On 19th July, Skobelev and Gourko joined hands at the summit of the Pass. The road to the south was now open, and a speedy occupation of Constantinople was anticipated. "The existence of the Empire hangs on a hair," so ran the words of a Turkish dispatch. But just when all seemed lost, the tide turned, and the advance of the triumphant Russians was held up. Indeed, for a time the invaders found themselves in a desperate plight and, had there been any co-ordination among the Turkish commanders, they might have been thrown back across the Danube.²

The Defence of Plevna. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877 can never be mentioned without recalling the name of Osman Pasha, the man of indomitable will and comprehensive vision, who shared with his great opponent, Skobelev, the honours of the campaign. Osman had seized the important strategic position of Plevna on the very day of the capture of the Shipka Pass. Plevna stood at the junction of the chief roads through Bulgaria, and

¹ Skobelev was a leader beloved of the soldiery. It was commonly said of him that "he knew the soul of a soldier as if he were a private himself." In all respects, save in his great stature, he resembled the skilful Suvoroff, whose greatest successor he was.

² Early in September, the Russian Commander-in-Chief, the Grand Duke Nicholas, actually proposed a retirement on Sistova as the only safe course, but was overruled by the Minister of War General Milutine.

the hills around afforded admirable defensive positions. Here Osman entrenched himself and built redoubts. On 31st July a Russian attack in force was driven back in disorder, but Osman could not follow up his advantage without support. In August Suleiman Pasha, recalled from Montenegro, pressed Gourko in the south back to



THE BALKANS AFTER TREATY OF BERLIN

the Balkans, and pursued him up the Shipka Pass. Here he foolishly wasted 20,000 of his best troops in fruitless attacks on the defences at the summit of the Pass, instead of joining Osman. The Russians were reduced almost to the last gasp; but, during September, they were reinforced by over 200,000 men, and the Rumanian army, under Prince Charles,¹ also came to their aid. Gradually a complete line of investment was drawn round Plevna.

¹ Until now, the Rumanians had taken no active part in the war, as the Tzar had insisted on their serving under a Russian general.

Osman held out heroically until 10th¹ December, when he made one last desperate effort to break out towards Sofia. After terrible slaughter on both sides, he was compelled to surrender with 40,000 half-starved troops. Thus ended the gallant defence of Plevna, which cost Russia 50,000 lives and kept her at bay for nearly five months. With the fall of Plevna came the end of the war. The Russians swept southwards, and Gourko, after one of his dashing advances, routed Suleiman¹ at Philipopolis near Adrianople.

Treaty of San Stefano. The Sultan then sued for peace, and in March, 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano was signed. Turkey recognized the complete independence of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, the two latter with enlarged territories. Rumania ceded Bessarabia to Russia, and received the Dobrudja in exchange. Eastern Rumelia and a large part of Macedonia were joined to Bulgaria, which was constituted a new autonomous State under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan. Russia gained, besides Bessarabia, considerable possessions in Armenia, and Turkey was condemned to pay a large indemnity.

Congress of Berlin. Britain and Austria immediately protested against the terms of this treaty, by which Russia became virtually supreme in the Near East,² since it was thought that the new and enlarged Bulgaria would be completely under her control. Both Powers began to arm and to threaten intervention. In vain did Gladstone plead in impassioned tones for an understanding with Russia. England was swept by a wave of Jingoism,²

¹ Suleiman was condemned by court-martial to fifteen years' imprisonment for his gross mismanagement of the operations. It was strongly suspected that he accepted bribes from the enemy to betray his country's cause.

² A popular ditty of the time ran—

"We don't want to fight, but, by Jingo if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men, and we've got the
money too.
We've fought the Bear before, and we'll do the same again;
The Russians shan't have Constantinople."

raised by fears for India and the Suez Canal, in the latter of which she had gained proprietary interests by the purchase, in 1875, of £4,000,000 worth of stock from the Khedive of Egypt. Russia, rent by internal disorder, dared not face another conflict, and agreed to submit the matters in dispute to a Congress of the Powers. Bismarck offered to play the part of the "honest broker" in adjusting the conflicting claims. Accordingly, the Congress of Berlin was constituted, with plenipotentiaries from Britain, France, Austria, Germany, Italy, Turkey, and Russia. The principal changes effected by the Congress in the Treaty of San Stefano were as follows: Bulgaria was shorn of Macedonia, which was returned to Turkey, and Eastern Rumelia, which was made a separate State tributary to the Sultan. This was agreed upon in deference to the wishes of Britain, while by a secret compact with Turkey, the island of Cyprus was handed over to her to serve as a base from which to defend Ottoman territory in Asia. Austria was granted a protectorate over Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the right to garrison the sandjak of Novi-Bazar and to police the Montenegrin port of Antivari. These concessions destroyed all chance of a large united Slav State on the Hungarian frontier. Thessaly was assigned to Greece, but not ceded till three years later. Russia relinquished most of her Asiatic conquests, but retained Bessarabia, in spite of the strong protests of Rumania, who received very ungenerous treatment in return for her great sacrifices in the war.

Disraeli returned from Berlin with the grandiloquent phrase on his lips, "We bring you peace with honour." But if any settlement sowed the seeds of future conflict, it was that established by the Treaty of Berlin. With Serbia cut off from Montenegro and the Adriatic by the Austrian occupation of Novi-Bazar; with the southern Bulgars of Eastern Rumelia separated from their northern brethren and forcibly returned, together with Macedonia;

to Turkey ; with Russia, the only Power who had dared to raise a finger in the cause of the oppressed, slighted and sent home under a sense of bitter wrong, there could be little hope of a lasting peace. The supposed interests of Britain and Austria had been respected, and the wily Turk had been given a new lease of life ; but it needed a comparatively short time to explode the " peace with honour " fallacy, and to draw from Lord Salisbury, the other British representative at Berlin, one of his famous *mots*, " We put our money on the wrong horse." Yet Disraeli's spirited policy re-established British prestige in the councils of Europe.

§ THE NIHILIST MOVEMENT

In 1878 the Nihilist movement entered upon its most violent phase. The Treaty of San Stefano had failed to satisfy the aspirations of the Russian people, who longed to see the cross shining aloft on St. Sofia in Constantinople, while the Treaty of Berlin raised a storm of indignation. The soldiers came home with tales of uneatable bread, rotten boots, shoddy uniforms, obsolete guns and rifles.¹ The truth was quickly guessed. Corruption and speculation had been rife in the commissariat, and the Grand Duke Nicholas was suspected of collusion with the contractors. When this was noised abroad, the people were naturally enraged with the Government, and the Nihilists grew bolder and bolder. A month after the signing of peace, the Chief of the Police was killed, and there followed a series of assassinations of high officials, whose sentence of death, in several cases, was previously placarded on the walls of the towns. The Government retaliated by abolishing trial by jury and resorted to martial law, but neither death on the scaffold nor banishment to the mines

¹ The Bulgar peasants had far more of the necessities of life than their deliverers, and the Rumanians were filled with commiseration for the piteous state of the Russian troops.

of Siberia deterred the Nihilists. On the contrary, severity only made them more ferocious. In 1880, the banqueting hall of the Winter Palace was blown up, but the Imperial family escaped, owing to the late arrival of a guest. The Tzar then appointed a Special Commission, with Loris Melikoff at its head, to deal with the situation. Melikoff, an Armenian, was a very able man. He saw that repression without reforms was useless, and, under his influence, the Tzar reverted to his liberal policy and tried conciliation. On 9th March, 1881, the Tzar signed an Imperial Ukase, which constituted a Council, representing the nobles, the Zemstvos, and the towns, to advise the Government. But he postponed its publication till 13th March. On that very day, a bomb thrown at his carriage wounded some of his guard. The Tzar alighted to inquire after the injured, when another bomb fell at his feet, and Alexander, frightfully mangled, was carried home to die. By this outrage, the Nihilists ruined their cause. A great revulsion of feeling set in among the sensitive people. They proceeded to idealize the "Tzar Liberator" as the friend of peace and the liberal reformer, whose beneficent schemes had been hampered and rendered abortive by crafty and reactionary Ministers. Nihilism still persisted in its dread course, but from that moment its power decreased.

Alexander III. Alexander III, who succeeded to the vacant throne, was a very different man from his father. A stern autocrat, of splendid physique and narrow mind, he resembled rather his uncle, Nicholas I. Tenacious of his ill-formed opinions, no argument, however strong, no advice, however wise, could turn him from his purpose. He gained for himself two nicknames: "the Bull," in reference to his strength and doggedness; and "the Peasants' Tzar," for, as Bismarck scornfully remarked, he viewed all things from the standpoint of a Russian peasant. When Melikoff told him of his father's ukase for a

constitution, the Tzar exclaimed, "Change nothing of my father's orders. This shall count as his will and testament." Unfortunately, the Constitution was never promulgated. Such an act of Imperial confidence was utterly foreign to Alexander III's forceful nature, and the psychological moment, when the people were consumed with a spirit of devotion to the throne and fury against the Nihilists, passed never to return.

Autocracy and orthodoxy were the ideals of the new Tzar; in other words, he fully intended to be "the Little Father" of his people, a benevolent despot, a sacred personality, head of Church and State. In this character he treated his people like children, who, incapable of doing anything for themselves, should gratefully and submissively accept the gifts bestowed upon them by his royal bounty. His motto was: "One Russia, one Creed, one Tzar." Therefore, in all parts of his wide dominions, only one language, one religion, and one law were tolerated. This involved the "Russification" of Poland, of Finland, and of the Baltic Provinces; the persecution of Catholics, Lutherans, Jews, and Stundists; and the suppression of all local customs.¹

¹ A new regulation was enforced, by which land in Poland could be sold only to Russians. In the Baltic Provinces, the upper classes were mainly German Lutherans. Here a religious persecution was carried on, and the Slav peasants were encouraged to drive out their landlords. Bismarck retaliated by "Germanizing" Posen, and brutally evicted all Russian Poles during the severe winter of 1885-86. In Finland the constitution had been maintained, and the country, semi-independent, and enjoying religious freedom, was more civilized than Russia. Alexander III attempted to reduce her to the level of a Russian province, but died in 1894, without gaining his object. His successor, Nicholas II, continued his policy, took from the Diet its legislative powers, introduced Russian officials and police, enforced the use of the Russian language, instituted a strict Press censorship, and incorporated the Finnish in the Russian army. In 1904 the Finns revolted and murdered the Russian governor. In the following year they regained their constitution, which they enlarged by including in it universal suffrage for both men and women, and freedom of speech, of the Press, and of public meeting.

Alexander III believed, not without reason, that Nihilism was the outcome of imperfect education imperfectly understood. He determined, not on improvement, but on curtailment of education as far as possible. He restricted the number of students in the schools and universities, and closed them entirely to the poor. A strict system of inspection was instituted, and the slightest sign of disaffection on the part of students was crushed by wholesale deportations to Siberia. The Press was strictly censored, and foreign newspapers and books were excluded from Russia.

The reorganization of the army revealed the fact that it was honeycombed with Nihilism, and the Tzar, surrounded by secret police, shut himself up in his palaces to wage a dour fight against hidden and desperate foes. In the end, his iron constitution and indomitable will overcame all obstacles; the revolutionaries were worsted, and abandoned terrorist methods for economic propaganda. According to his lights, Alexander III strove to promote the prosperity of his people by encouraging trade and industry, and by developing railway transport. He was very solicitous for the material condition of the peasants, reducing the "heavy burdens of taxation which pressed unduly upon them. He set up Land Banks to advance loans for the purchase of holdings; he introduced laws to protect women and children working in factories; and, by controlling the sale of "vodka," he greatly reduced drunkenness.

§ RUSSIAN POLICY IN THE NEAR AND THE FAR EAST

The struggle with Nihilism, while it lasted, almost paralyzed the Tzar in the realm of European politics. At San Stefano, Russia had alienated Rumania, Serbia, and Greece by setting up a Great Bulgaria and, in the case of the first named, by the seizure of Bessarabia.

Rumania and Serbia. Prince Charles of Rumania assumed the title of king in 1881, and Prince Milan of Serbia followed suit in 1882. Both sovereigns were thrown into the arms of the Central Powers by the selfish policy of Russia, and a secret alliance was actually formed between Austria and Serbia.

Bulgaria. But the estrangement which gradually grew up between Bulgaria and Russia was even more remarkable. In truth, the liberator had not acted from wholly disinterested motives. He fully intended to keep the liberated *in statu pupillari*, and it soon became evident to the Bulgars that they had but exchanged the misrule of the Sultan for the dictatorship of the Tzar. With the full approval of the latter, Prince Alexander of Battenberg was chosen to rule over the new State, but friction soon arose. The country was flooded with Russian officers, who dictated in the most supercilious manner to the Prince, and told him bluntly that they took their orders, not from him, but from the Tzar. The Prince, therefore, threw in his lot with the popular anti-Russian party. In 1885 the Bulgars of Eastern Rumelia threw off their enforced connection with Turkey, and declared for union with their northern brethren. The Tzar immediately urged the Sultan to take up arms against the rebels.¹ But Abdul Hamid distrusted his would-be adviser, and listened to the British ambassador, who represented that a strong Bulgaria would constitute his surest protection against Muscovite ambition. The Sultan, with an enigmatical smile, allowed matters to take their course, but Serbia immediately attacked Bulgaria in the hope of gaining compensations. Prince Alexander, to the surprise of Europe, speedily routed his jealous neighbour and, but for the intervention of Austria, would have occupied Belgrade. His popularity

¹ Though his father had constituted the Great Bulgaria, Alexander III would not countenance the union as long as "the Battenberger" was on the throne.

among his subjects, always great, was thereby enhanced, and he was accorded an enthusiastic reception on his return from the war. This was very galling to the Tzar, for, hampered as he was by the Nihilist agitation, he dared not intervene directly in Bulgaria. Secret intrigues resulted in the hatching of a plot by some discontented officers and Russian agents, who one night kidnapped the Prince and hurried him over the frontier. But the people, headed by the great patriot, Stambuloff, rose in fury against the Russian clique, and loudly demanded the restoration of their herq. Prince Alexander was permitted to return; but, finding the situation too harassing and difficult, he soon afterwards abdicated. The Bulgars, ignoring the Tzar's wishes, elected Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a wily and unscrupulous man, who played his cards well. Eventually, on the reception of Ferdinand's son, Boris, into the Greek Church, the Tzar consented to stand as godfather; and, outwardly at least, Russo-Bulgarian jealousy ceased (1896).

Serbia. In 1889 King Milan of Serbia abdicated, and the pro-Austrian policy, which he had forced on his people, was exchanged under his son and successor, Alexander, for the natural one of Pan-Slavism, which involved friendship with Russia. In 1903 King Alexander and his queen, Draga, were brutally murdered by a military clique, and Peter Karageorgevich became king.

Russian Expansion in Asia. Checked in the Near East by the terms of the Berlin Treaty, Russia concentrated her energies, to the increasing alarm of Britain, on expansion in Asia. Soon after the Crimean War, Russia had obtained, by negotiations with China, the site of Vladivostock (*Lord of the East*), a port of great importance, as a base for her Pacific fleet. A few years later saw her in possession of a considerable portion of Turkestan, and scarcely was the ink dry on the Berlin Treaty when her agents gained complete ascendancy over the Ameer of

Afghanistan. This led to Sir Frederick Roberts's (Lord Roberts of Kandahar) famous campaign of 1878-79, which resulted in the substitution of a pro-British for a pro-Russian Ameer. Checked here, Russia proceeded with her conquest of Turkestan and, notwithstanding assurances to the contrary, the Tzar's troops in 1884 occupied Merv. In the following year, an advance to Penjdeh, on the frontiers of Afghanistan and Persia, almost precipitated war between Britain and Russia. Eventually, delimitations of frontiers here and, later, in the Pamirs (1895), and an arrangement as to "spheres of influence," restored peaceable relations. There can be little doubt that Russia at one time seriously entertained thoughts of an invasion of India,¹ and, with that object in view, pushed forward her system of strategic railways through Merv to the borders of Afghanistan. About the same time she began the Trans-Siberian Railway, a gigantic engineering feat, which reached its completion at Vladivostock in 1896.

¹ Skobleff had actually drawn up, in 1877-78, elaborate plans for an invasion of India. After the Russo-Turkish War, he resumed the exploits in Turkestan, which had first made his name famous. Recalled in 1881, he died in 1882, at the early age of 39, worn out by bouts of dissipation. Had he lived, it is hardly too much to say that his military genius, combined with his strong anti-Teutonic bias, might have changed the face of Europe.

CHAPTER XVI

WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE AFTER 1878

§ FRENCH DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

AFTER the resignation of Marshal MacMahon in 1879 (p. 191), a vigorous attack was launched against the Church by Gambetta, who became Premier in 1881. In the following year all "unauthorized" religious orders¹ were excluded from the schools, and free and compulsory education was established in the primary schools. In the same year, Gambetta was killed by his mistress. Thus tragically ended a career fascinating in its very rashness, its lack of restraint, and its fierce spirit of *revanche*.

Expulsion of the Princes. In 1883 two additions were made to the Constitution: (i) that the republican form of government was permanent and could never be called in question; and (ii) that members of former reigning families were ineligible for the Presidency, and must leave the country. The Comte de Chambord died in this year, but the Comte de Paris, by his arrogance, provoked the Government into passing the decree of expulsion. The Bonapartist representative, Jerome, husband of Victor Emmanuel's daughter Clothilde, was included along with the Orleanist princes in this sentence of exile.

The Boulanger Cult. Three years later, Paris went almost demented over a new popular hero in the person of General Boulanger, Minister of War. The Government was in very bad odour with the people, and Boulanger, seizing on a frontier incident, raised an outcry against Germany. An imposing figure mounted on his great

¹ Associations of more than twenty persons for any purpose whatever had to be authorized by the Government. Only five religious orders were recognized as "authorized societies."

black charger, Boulanger was adored by the soldiers and popular even in the provinces, generally noted for their sane common-sense. He was hailed as the man of the hour, the patriotic republican general who was determined to recover Alsace-Lorraine. The Orleanists looked to him to restore the Monarchy, and supplied him with money, while the royalist Press sang his praises. In 1887 Carnot, the grandson of the "organizer of victory," became President, and the Boulanger cult began to wane. Two years later the Government prosecuted the general for treason, and he fled the country, and ended his life by his own hand in Belgium. Amid all his vapourings, Boulanger had advocated one wise thing: a Franco-Russian alliance. The autocratic Alexander III distrusted French republicanism and fought shy of a definite treaty, but a measure of *rapprochement* was effected, which bore fruit in 1888 in the first of a series of French loans¹ to Russia, which enabled the Tzar to carry out his great railway projects.

The Papal Encyclical. During Carnot's presidency, Church and State entered upon more friendly relations. Pope Leo XIII issued an Encyclical, addressed to French Catholics, advocating their acceptance of the Republic as a legitimate form of government. Many of the clericals now separated themselves from the Royalists and joined the moderates of the Centre parties. But in the same year (1892) the Government's position became exceedingly precarious.

The Panama Scandal. M. de Lesseps had undertaken the construction of a canal across the isthmus of Panama, and the thrifty French peasantry had invested all their savings in the Canal Company; £50,000,000 had been sunk in the venture, and another £30,000,000 was now required. The promoters' difficulties, increased by the hostility of the United States, proved insuperable, and the Company became insolvent. The Panama Scandal involved

¹ By 1894, a total of £160,000,000 was subscribed.

several Ministers and Members of both Chambers, for it became known that bribes had been paid by Jewish financiers interested in the issue of fresh capital. One Jew, of German origin, committed suicide on the eve of the inquiry; one Minister was condemned; and several others were thought to be equally guilty. But for his great age (he was over 90), de Lesseps himself would have had to serve a term of imprisonment. So great was the disgust inspired by the scandal, that reputable men eschewed politics for several years.

Carnot Assassinated. In 1894 President Carnot was assassinated, and the Tzar (Alexander III) passed away in November of the same year. The latter's son and successor, Nicholas II, did not share his father's dislike of Western democratic institutions, and the *entente* between France and Russia grew closer.

Faure's Presidency, and the Dual Alliance. President Felix Faure set himself to revive his countrymen's interest in their Government by surrounding the presidential office with that ceremonial display and splendour so dear to the heart of the French. In 1896, the new Tzar visited Paris amid scenes of extravagant magnificence and brilliancy, unusual in a republican State. In the following year President Faure repaid the compliment at Kronstadt and Petrograd, and a Franco-Russian Alliance took definite shape. The Dual Alliance provided that, in the event of either nation's being attacked, the other should come to its aid with the whole of its military and naval forces.

The Dreyfus Case. Another event which tended to destroy political apathy in France was the Dreyfus affair, which opened at the end of 1894, and for five years convulsed the country. Dreyfus, a Jewish officer on the General Staff, was accused of betraying important military secrets to Germany. The Panama Scandal was still fresh in men's minds, and anti-Semitic feeling ran high; it even

produced in the Chamber a debate on the "Jewish Peril." Dreyfus was court-martialled, and condemned, on certain documentary evidence which was not shown to the prisoner's counsel. His sentence was imprisonment for life in the pestilential *Ile du Diable*, off French Guiana. Gradually doubts arose as to the justice of the sentence, and an agitation for a new trial began. Colonel Picquart, head of the Intelligence Department, discovered that the probable traitor was a certain Major Esterhazy, a dissolute man of Hungarian origin. The War Office tried and acquitted Esterhazy, and displaced Picquart by Colonel Henri. "L'affaire Dreyfus" had become a political issue. Conservative Republicans, and moderate men generally, wished to bury the case in oblivion, fearing it would prove discreditable to the Government, and so endanger the Republic. The Royalists, though checked by the Boulanger fiasco, still hoped to overthrow the Republic by means of a military *coup d'état*. They raised the cry of "the honour of the army," threatened by questioning the decision of a court-martial. The Radicals and Socialists combined against the Royalists and espoused the cause of Dreyfus, although the Socialists hated the plutocracy of the Jews. It was no longer a question of the guilt or innocence of the prisoner on Devil's Isle, but of the triumph or defeat of a political party. The controversy was maintained chiefly by means of press articles and pamphlets. Three eminent men, Zola, Anatole France, and Clémenceau, were persistent in urging revision of the sentence. Zola was fined for libel, and Picquart, who gave evidence at his trial, was imprisoned. In 1898 Colonel Henri concocted fresh documents proving Dreyfus's guilt, but broke down under cross-examination, admitted the forgery, and committed suicide. A new trial was ordered, and Esterhazy fled to England. Dreyfus was found guilty, but with "extenuating circumstances." M. Loubet, who, on the death of Faure in 1899, became President, pardoned the unfortunate prisoner, but

his action was by no means accepted *con amore* by all parties. A few years later, further investigation proved the innocence of Dreyfus, and he was reinstated in the army and promoted.

Attacks on the Church. The Radicals and Socialists had triumphed, and proceeded to avenge themselves on their opponents. The easiest to attack were the clericals. Notwithstanding Gambetta's legislation of 1882, the religious orders had prospered and had opened private schools. Their property was now estimated at £40,000,000. In 1901 the "Associations Law" was passed, by which the right of association was granted to all societies except religious orders. The latter had still to obtain a special sanction, but none of their members were permitted to teach. Under Emile Combes, who became Premier in 1903, this law was strictly enforced. Thousands of private schools were closed, the religious orders suppressed, and their property confiscated. In the same year, Pope Leo XIII died, and was succeeded by Pius X, who vigorously opposed Combes. Diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican were discontinued, and in 1905 an "Act of Separation" was passed, under which the State ceased to recognize the Church. An inventory of the property of each religious body was to be taken, and vested in "Associations for Worship," which were to decide to whom the property belonged. In accordance with instructions from the Pope, the Church ignored the "Associations for Worship," but inventories were forcibly taken. Eventually, the Church gained considerably from the violence of the Government officials, and its independent life has been on the whole of great benefit to it.

§ GERMANY'S NEW POLICY

The hollowness of the League of the Three Emperors was plainly manifest at the Berlin Congress. The Tzar

deeply resented the "honest broker's" support of Austrian interests in the Balkans, and plainly intimated that Germany would forfeit the friendship of Russia if that support were continued. Strong anti-German articles appeared in the Muscovite Press, alleging that Russia had been urged by Germany to make war on Turkey, only to be treacherously deserted.¹ Bismarck and Andrassy immediately came to an agreement for mutual defence in the event of a Russian attack on either of their countries.

The Triple Alliance. In 1881 France, secretly encouraged by Bismarck, seized Tunis. "She thereby incurred the hostility of Italy, who had ear-marked Tunis as hers whenever the expected partition of the Turkish Empire should take place. Italy also feared French intervention on behalf of the Pope in the event of a Bourbon restoration. She therefore joined France's deadliest enemy, and the Triple Alliance was formed, consisting of Germany, Austria, and Italy, which lasted, with several renewals, for over thirty years.

After 1882 Bismarck breathed more freely. It was indeed a year singularly full of advantage to the German Empire. The Triple Alliance was formed; events in Egypt caused strained relations between France and Britain; Skobelev, the aggressive Pan-Slavist, died in the autumn; and Gambetta, Germany's implacable foe, was murdered at the end of the year.

Bismarck's Fall. In 1888 the aged Emperor, William I, died, and was succeeded by his son Frederick, who was already suffering from cancer in the throat. Married to Queen Victoria's eldest daughter, he was strongly pro-British, and also held liberal opinions. On both counts he was opposed to Bismarck. Unfortunately, he reigned only for ninety days, and his son, William II, was a

¹ There was some truth in the allegation, for Bismarck, hoping to weaken his formidable Slav neighbour, had encouraged the Tsar to declare war.

man of very different stamp. The new Emperor modelled himself on his grandfather rather than on his father, and thoroughly agreed with Bismarck's militarist and conservative policy. But they soon quarrelled. The Kaiser, young, energetic, and impulsive, determined to be a real ruler. Consumed with the idea of his own importance, he would submit his judgment to no man, not even to the great Chancellor who had made the German Empire. Two stubborn wills came into conflict, especially when Bismarck claimed that the Emperor could communicate with subordinate Ministers only through his Chancellor. The Kaiser refused to be bound by an old Prussian rule of 1852. Bismarck stood firm and, thinking himself absolutely necessary to the State, asked his Sovereign if he found him in his way. He was astounded when his question was answered by a decisive "Yes." The aged statesman, who had spent his life plotting and scheming for the aggrandisement of Prussia, was compelled to resign, and retired into private life in 1890. William II immediately withdrew Bismarck's anti-socialist laws, and tried to win over the working-classes by limiting the number of working hours and insisting on factory inspection. But that his hatred of socialistic doctrines was as great as that of the late Chancellor is shown by his uncompromising words: "Every Social Democrat is an enemy of the Empire and the Fatherland."

Bismarck's foreign policy had been eminently cautious. Freed from his restraining influence, the German outlook became wider, and the Emperor's policy more ambitious and provocative. Bismarck's vision of Germany as the greatest continental Power was too narrow; she must also be the greatest world Power. Here lies the motive behind the Kaiser's naval policy, and his growing envy and hatred of Great Britain. "Our future lies on the sea," he exclaimed at the opening of the Kiel Canal in 1896; and, a year later, "Imperial power means sea power."

In 1898 Bismarck died. His fall from power had excited more sympathy than had ever been felt for his rule. Henceforth, William II, untrammelled by a genius far greater than his own, was free to pursue his course until it plunged him into the cataclysm of the Great War of 1914-1918.

§ EVENTS IN SOME OF THE SMALLER NATIONS

Spain. When Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern (p. 175) declined the throne of Spain, one of Victor Emmanuel's sons, Amadeus, was chosen as king in 1870. Unfortunately, Prim was assassinated shortly afterwards. Amadeo I, as he was called in Spain, deprived of the general's powerful support, and unable to cope with the difficulties of his position, abdicated in 1873. A republic was then set up, but Carlist agitations, which had been simmering for the past three years, came to a head in a violent insurrection in the north-east. At the end of 1874, the army overthrew the Government, and proclaimed as King of Spain, Alphonso XII, son of the ex-Queen Isabel. Brave, generous, and patriotic, he was one of the best kings Spain ever had, and for eleven years he ruled constitutionally and made the monarchy respected. He died in November, 1885, and his son, Alphonso XIII, was born six months later, and is still reigning. During the minority, the Queen-mother, Maria Christina (the second of that name), acted as Regent, and proved a discreet and constitutional ruler. Towards the end of the Regency, the last of the Spanish colonies in America were lost. In 1898 the United States declared war, nominally on behalf of the Cubans, who for four years had been in revolt. The Spanish fleets were destroyed in Manila Bay and off Santiago de Cuba. By the peace which followed, the United States gained Cuba, Puerto Rica, and the Philipines,

but paid £4,000,000 for the latter. The loss of her colonies has been on the whole beneficial to Spain. They were always an expense to her and, freed from their weight, the Government has turned all its attention to home problems. Industries have grown up, trade and commerce increased, and conditions of life improved.

In 1902 Alphonso XIII came of age and, in 1906, he married Princess Ena of Battenberg, Queen Victoria's grand-daughter. He has persevered in constitutional rule, notwithstanding socialist and republican agitation in some of the towns and mining districts.

Portugal. In Portugal Donna Maria (p. 122) reigned until her death in 1853. Throughout her reign it was felt that the Constitution needed revision in a democratic direction and, in 1852, a satisfactory settlement, embodied in a Charter, was arrived at. There followed the uneventful reigns of her two sons; but, in 1889, Carlos I, a self-indulgent man of extravagant tastes, succeeded to the crown. He was soon faced by a republican agitation, inaugurated by returning emigrants from Brazil, which had just become a republic. In 1891 an unsuccessful rising occurred in Oporto, but the movement gained in strength owing to the King's unconstitutional acts. In 1907 Dom Carlos abolished the Cortès and repudiated his debt to the Treasury. At the beginning of the following year the King, with the Crown Prince, was assassinated in the streets of Lisbon. Manuel II, a mere boy, succeeded; but two years later he was driven out, and Portugal became a republic (1910).

Norway and Sweden. The Union of Norway and Sweden in 1815 was merely a paper union (p. 103). Norway was essentially democratic, while Sweden was aristocratic and almost feudal. In 1866 the Swedish Diet was modernized and constitutional rule granted, but Norway was still dissatisfied. In 1891 an agitation for repeal of the Union began. Norwegian shipping had increased

greatly, and had been granted the privilege of flying its own national flag.¹ Norway now insisted on having consuls of her own in the foreign ports with which she traded. The King vetoed a proposal of the Norwegian Parliament to this effect,² and persisted in appointing Swedes. The Parliament thereupon declared the Union dissolved and, after some blustering, Sweden consented to abide by the result of a *plébiscite* of the Norwegian people (1905). By a vast majority, Norway voted for independence, and chose as her king Prince Charles of Denmark, who assumed the title of Haakon VII. . . .

Belgium. After Belgium gained her independence (p. 121), she became very prosperous. Her flourishing manufactures were further developed by the construction of railways, and her population increased considerably. The Conservative and Liberal parties, which had united against the Dutch, fell asunder once more in 1847 on the question of education. The Conservatives wished to maintain clerical control in the schools; while the Liberals, though in the main Catholic, held anti-clerical views. The beneficial rule of Leopold I came to an end in 1865. Under his son, Leopold II, the prosperity of the country was maintained, though the morals of the ruler left much to be desired. In 1879 the Liberals abolished religious instruction during school hours, with the result that the bulk of the education of the country was carried on in private Catholic schools. When the Conservatives returned to power in 1884, they effected a compromise, recognizing lay as well as Catholic schools, but making religious teaching compulsory. They then embarked on political and social reforms. Manhood suffrage was adopted along with a peculiar system of plural voting allowing an extra vote on the score of property and two extra to those who could satisfy an educational test. In 1895, old-age pensions were granted, and an employers' liability act was passed; while, in 1900, proportional representation was adopted.

On the death of Leopold II in 1909 his nephew, Albert I, became king.

Holland. The year after the final settlement with Belgium, William I, the old autocratic Stadtholder, abdicated in favour of his son, William II (1840). In 1848 the Constitution was revised in a liberal direction, censorship of the Press was abolished, and religious liberty established. William III succeeded his father in 1849, and in that year all indirect taxes were taken off, which greatly benefited the poor. In 1889 a long dispute as to religious teaching in the schools was brought to a close by an arrangement by which schools of all denominations should receive Government grants. In 1890 William III died, and his daughter, Wilhelmina, who was only ten years of age, succeeded to the throne. Her mother acted as Regent till she reached the age of eighteen, and three years later (1901) she took as her consort Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

Switzerland. After the downfall of Napoleon Switzerland, labouring under the spirit of reaction then prevalent, relapsed into an oligarchal form of government somewhat similar to that from which she had been rescued by the "Mediator."

After 1830 the Federal Diet regained some of its power, but the country was soon rent with religious strife, which, in 1847, culminated in civil war. The Liberal majority in the Diet wished to secularize education, and the seven Catholic cantons formed a defensive league called the Sonderbund. The Liberals immediately issued a decree dissolving the Sonderbund and expelling the Jesuits. The seven cantons took up arms, and appealed to the Great Powers, all of whom, with the exception of Britain, supported them. The Liberals acted with promptitude, massed the troops of the Protestant cantons, routed the Catholic army, and invaded the seven cantons before the Powers could intervene. The Sonderbund was at an end.

A new Constitution was drawn up obligatory on all the cantons. Each has its own Assembly, controls its church, its schools, its taxes, and its police, but all are linked together by means of a Federal Government. The Executive is vested in a Federal Council of seven members elected by the legislative or Federal Assembly. This consists of two Chambers: (i) The National Council elected by manhood suffrage; and (ii) the States Council made up of two representatives from each canton. Democratic control is complete in Switzerland for a *Referendum*, i.e. a vote of the whole nation must be taken on any proposed change in the Constitution, or on any law passed by the Government. The people also possess the power of *Initiation*, i.e. if 30,000 people join in a demand for a new law, it must be submitted to a referendum. Proportional representation has also been adopted.

CHAPTER XVII ;

IMPERIAL EXPANSION AND COLONIAL RIVALRY ?

§ THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

HARDLY had the Russo-Turkish War concluded, when trouble arose in Egypt.

Britain in Egypt. During the American Civil War (1861-65) Egypt had gained a temporary prosperity by growing cotton. Successive Khedives had launched out into extravagant schemes of railway development, harbour extension, palace building, and much unproductive magnificence and display. Said Pasha had authorized the great French engineer, M. de Lesseps, to cut the Suez Canal. Before it was opened in 1869, the cotton boom had collapsed, and ruin stared Egypt in the face. The Canal made matters worse, for most of its profits went to foreign investors, while it diverted trade from the railways. The peasants were ground down by the most rapacious taxation, until they could bear no more ; and, in 1875, Ismail Pasha, to stave off bankruptcy, sold 177,000 canal shares to Britain. Three years later France and Britain, both of whom had large financial interests in Egypt, established a " Dual Control " over the revenue, in spite of the opposition of Ismail. Acting on representations from the two Powers, the Sultan, in 1879, deposed Ismail and appointed his son, Tewfik Pasha, Khedive in his place. But extravagance and corruption still continued, and, in 1882, Arabi Bey headed a serious revolt, which speedily degenerated into a massacre of foreigners. Thereupon the British Fleet bombarded Alexandria, but that of France, though present, stood aloof,¹ while she and the other

¹ It was the year of the Triple Alliance, and M. Clémenceau, in the Chamber, advised caution. " Europe," he said, " is covered with soldiers ; everyone is in a state of expectation ; all the Powers are reserving their future liberty of action : do you reserve the liberty of action of France."

Powers refused to co-operate in restoring order. Britain, therefore, alone occupied Egypt, under a promise to retire thence when the Khedive's authority was restored, and the finances and administration placed on a satisfactory basis. Sir Garnet Wolseley (Lord Wolseley of Cairo) stamped out the revolt at Tel-el-Kehir, and the patriot Arabi was banished to Ceylon. The British occupation of Egypt was viewed with much disfavour in France, but, for various reasons, it has continued to the present day.

The Soudan. Arabi's revolt had hardly been suppressed, when, a fresh danger threatened Egypt. "The Mahdi," self-styled Messiah of Mohammedanism, arose in the Soudan, and swept all before him. The British Government sent out General Gordon, with instructions to evacuate the Egyptian garrisons. Gordon might have accomplished his task safely, but he was not the man to retire tamely before overwhelming odds; and he knew that if he abandoned the Soudan, the slave-trade, which his chivalrous soul abhorred, would be re-established. He conceived the bold idea of "smashing the Mahdi," and wasted valuable time in vain appeals for troops. The Gladstone Cabinet resolutely set its face against armed intervention. Gordon obstinately clung to his post, and wrote that he could not leave till all those dependent on him were safe. "How could I look the world in the face if I abandoned them and fled? As a gentleman, could you advise this course?" Eventually he found himself shut up in Khartoum by the Mahdist hordes. A relief force, under Lord Wolseley, was dispatched, and arrived within sight of Khartoum, only to find that the place had fallen two days previously (26th December, 1885). Gordon's death was not avenged till 1898, when Sir Herbert Kitchener (Lord Kitchener of Khartoum) won his great victory of Omdurman over the Khalifa, the Mahdi's successor, and united the Soudan once more to Egypt.

Fashoda Incident. Meanwhile "the scramble for Africa" had been progressing vigorously. We have seen how France seized Tunis in 1881. A few years later she acquired Madagascar, and began encroaching on Spain's preserves in Morocco. Eventually she extended her rule over a vast empire, four times the size of France itself, stretching, with the exception of a few colonies on the west coast, from Algiers to the River Congo. In 1896 Captain Marchand led an expedition from the French Congo eastwards, with the object of linking up French possessions with the Red Sea. After two years of heroic struggles against untold difficulties, he arrived at Fashoda just two months before Lord Kitchener's triumph at Omdurman. The situation was very delicate; and, but for the good sense and personal friendship of Kitchener and Marchand, war between France and Britain might have resulted. Some French politicians were at first disposed to make use of the incident to open up the whole Egyptian question. The comments of the German Press on the *contretemps*, however, were illuminating; and though France felt it keenly, Marchand was recalled, and the incident closed.¹

British Colonies. Britain already possessed large tracts of territory in South Africa, including Cape Colony, Natal, Bechuanaland, and Rhodesia. In West Africa she held Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria. In the East she had secured Zanzibar from Germany in exchange for Heligoland, and British East Africa had been linked up with the Soudan by the virtual annexation of Uganda. After the Fashoda incident, an Anglo-French agreement was arranged (1899). France's penetration of North-west Africa was recognized, while an enlarged Soudan was to be under British influence. This effectually prevented all

¹ There were other causes of friction between the two Powers in the Far East, where, by the annexation of Upper Burma (1885), Britain had limited French expansion to Siam and Cochin-China.

chance of a French belt being drawn round Central Africa, which would have separated Egypt and the Soudan from British possessions farther south. After the South African War (1899-1902), the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were added to the British Empire, and the Cape-to-Cairo railway project took definite shape.

Here was a complete reversal of the British policy which had lasted since the break-away of the American colonies. Disraeli, in his early days, had aptly summed up his country's indifference to colonial possessions in the words: "These wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years, and they are a millstone round our necks." But when, in 1884, other countries began the scramble for oversea possessions, the British colonies and the Motherland drew together for mutual defence. It began to be clearly realized that jealousy and distrust, if persevered in, would leave the Empire an easy prey to the spoiler. An Imperial Federation League sprang into being, colonial interest revived, and oversea expansion began.

German Colonies. The history of German colonization is somewhat similar. Bismarck, intent on the consolidation of the infant German Empire, had discouraged adventures oversea. "We do not wish to colonize," he said, "nor can we do so. We shall never possess a fleet, nor are our workmen, our lawyers, our retired soldiers worth anything for colonization." But private commercial enterprise could not be restrained and, in 1884, Germany entered the field of colonization as a new competitor, while Bismarck was forced to recognize the movement and to talk vaguely of Germany's right to "a place in the sun." That Power obtained South-west Africa, Togoland, the Cameroons, and German East Africa in 1884; and this, together with her encroachments in the Pacific Islands, necessitated "arrangements" with the other Powers.

Belgium and Portugal in Africa. While the Great

Powers were busy with Russo-Turkish affairs, the Belgians began opening up the lands explored by Livingstone and Stanley about the Congo. In 1880 an International Association was formed, with the avowed object of carrying the blessings of civilization into "darkest Africa." But Portugal, having previously gained a footing at Boma at the mouth of the Congo, laid claim to the hinterland; and, in 1884, a Congress met in Berlin to consider the whole African question. Bismarck, caring little for colonies, poured oil on the troubled waters, and Africa was partitioned into "spheres of influence" among the Powers already in possession, Portugal being compensated by the acquisition of a large strip of coast line south of the Congo mouth.

In 1885 King Leopold II made the Belgian Parliament agree to his personal sovereignty over Congoland, which he named the Congo Free State. A great rubber trade grew up, and the King proceeded to enrich himself and his officials by methods which entailed much suffering to the natives. In 1908 the Parliament annexed the Free State to Belgium, and instituted reforms in administration.

Italy and Abyssinia. Italy's attempts to establish herself in Abyssinia ended in tragic failure. In 1887 an Italian force was annihilated, and the depression caused by this disaster, added to the strained relations between the Papacy and the Monarchy, was a determining factor in the renewal of the Triple Alliance in the March of that year. Signor Crispi, who became Premier a few months later, came completely under the influence of Bismarck, and consistently upheld the Alliance, though the predominant partners showed little regard for the interests of Italy. The Italians suffered another terrible defeat at the hands of the Abyssinians at Adowa in 1896, and something like despair seized on the nation. King Humbert was assassinated in 1900, and the present king, Victor Emmanuel III, began the reign which was to see the

outbreak of the Great War and Italy's repudiation of the Triple Alliance.

§ CHINA AND THE POWERS

Hardly had the Tzar Nicholas II ascended the throne in 1894 when war broke out between China and Japan. To the surprise of Europe, the Japanese proved victorious, and as the price of peace they demanded the island of Formosa and the Liao-tung Peninsula. Russia saw her opportunity and, in conjunction with France and Germany, declared that the cession of Liao-tung would "be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East." Japan had to be content with Formosa. Then Russia showed her hand. In return for her intervention, nominally on behalf of China, she was accorded the free use of the Chinese harbours and the rights of completing the Trans-Siberian Railway through Manchuria, of constructing a line to Tal-i-en-wan and Port Arthur, and of guarding the lines with her own troops. She therefore not only gained control over Manchuria, but also supplanted Japan in the Liao-tung Peninsula (1896). * But by this time, Germany was also seeking outlets for her trade, and the Kaiser, taking advantage of the murder of two German Catholic missionaries, seized Kiao-chau, in the province of Shan-tung (1898). Three Russian warships thereupon steamed into Port Arthur and, by a further agreement with China, the Tzar was allowed to fortify the place, which ceased to be an open port.

Britain was fully occupied at the time in the Soudan, but this double menace to her prestige in China could not be allowed to pass unnoticed. She therefore leased the port of Wei-hai-wei, which commanded the entrance to the Gulf of Pechili. France about the same time occupied Kwang-chan-wan, and the Powers proceeded to divide the

Celestial Empire into mutually exclusive spheres for the so-called "peaceful penetration" of their commerce.

The scramble for possessions in the Far East at length aroused a fierce spirit of resentment in the minds of the long-suffering Chinese, who were the chief victims.

The Boxer Rising. This led to the "Boxer" rising against the "foreign devils," which resulted in much bloodshed (1899-1900). A mixed force, composed of troops of the various European Powers, was sent out to the relief of the besieged Legations in Peking,¹ and crushed the Boxers, whose chief fault was "patriotism, tinged with barbarous cruelty."

The Russo-Japanese War. Still there was no peace. Japan was naturally enraged when Russia gained for herself that very territory, the cession of which she had declared would "be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East." Japan spent nine years in perfecting her army and navy; and, in 1904, took up arms for the purpose of expelling the Russians and protecting Asia from European aggression. The Japanese were again victorious. They captured Mukden, thereby cutting Russia's land communications with Port Arthur; they hurled assault after assault on that fortress till it capitulated; and finally they destroyed the Russian fleet sent round to its relief. Peace was then made, and Russia ceded the Liao-tung Peninsula, including Port Arthur, to Japan, and evacuated Manchuria.

In 1905 an alliance was established between Great Britain and Japan. During the war, British sympathies had been with Japan, and anti-Russian feeling had been accentuated by the Dogger Bank panic, when the Russian fleet, mistaking a number of English fishing-boats for Japanese torpedo boats, opened fire on them with tragic

¹ It was on the occasion of the departure of the German contingent that the Kaiser, in a farewell speech, told them to behave "like Attila and his Huns."

results. Fortunately, this untoward incident was referred to the Hague Arbitration Court and amicably settled.¹

The Kaiser had urged the Tzar to make war on Japan, while Britain had striven for peace. The result was a more friendly feeling between Russia and Britain, which was increased when the Tzar, yielding to popular clamour, set up in October, 1905, a legislative assembly—the Duma—which met for the first time in the following April. Unfortunately, the “Cadets,” or extremists, greatly outnumbered the “Octobrists” or moderates, and their violence led to the dissolution of the assembly. Fierce rioting ensued. An unsuccessful attempt in 1907 to produce a more moderate Duma led to a manipulation of the franchise by Imperial Ukase; and the third Duma, which met in the same year, was far less revolutionary, and lasted till 1912. It abolished communal land tenure (p. 198) and passed a measure of religious toleration.

§ AUSTRO-GERMAN AGGRESSION

The danger of the world-wide conflicting interests of the Powers was forcibly brought home to Britain during the South African War. The bitter hostility evinced in the jubilation of the foreign Press after the “Black Week,” when the Boers proved victorious at Colenso, Stormberg, and Magersfontein, showed that Britain occupied a position of complete isolation and was without a friend on the Continent. French and Russian antagonism to Britain

¹ The sight of Europe armed to the teeth, and the rivalries of the Powers in Africa, in Asia, and in the Pacific had inspired a sense of grave insecurity. At the suggestion of the Tzar, the first “Hague Conference” met in 1899 for the purpose of limiting armaments and submitting national disputes to arbitration. Owing to the uncompromising opposition of the German representatives, the Conference had to be content with setting up a purely optional Court of Arbitration.

was not to be wondered at, but the violent diatribes of the Germans revealed a jealous hatred which was almost bewildering to their "cousins" of the Island Kingdom. English statesmen rubbed their eyes and saw plainly that colonial, commercial, Oriental, and maritime rivalry made Germany an irreconcilable foe.¹

The Entente Cordiale. King Edward VII, who in 1901 ascended the British throne, immediately set himself to clear up the misunderstandings with France, and was met more than half-way by M. Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister. The King and President Loubet exchanged State visits, and an *entente cordiale* was established in 1904. Anglo-French relations were soon proved to rest upon a firm basis of friendship.

The Algeciras Conference. In 1905 at the moment when Russia was struggling with the victorious Japanese and with revolutionaries at home, the Kaiser ostentatiously paid a visit to Tangier, recognized its Sultan as an independent sovereign, and attempted to re-open the Morocco settlement arrived at between France and Spain in the previous year. A conference of the Powers met, in 1906, at Algeciras to consider the question. Russia had in the meantime made peace with Japan, and supported her Western ally with a vigour as strong as that of Britain. The other Powers, suspicious of Germany's designs, gave her little or no support, and the French protectorate over Morocco was recognized.

The Triple Entente. As a result of the Kaiser's impetuous and rather insolent interference, the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1897 and the Anglo-French *Entente* of 1904 were both immensely strengthened. King Edward

¹ "Which nation would you like best to chastise?" asked a Berlin newspaper, and gave the pertinent answer, "The English." The Krüger telegram (1896) showed the Kaiser's mind, and the chagrin underlying the Imperial utterance (1898), "Germany is in bitter need of a strong navy," shows to what lengths he might have gone during the South African War had he possessed that fleet.

sought means to compose the differences between Britain and Russia in Tibet, Afghanistan, and Persia; and when these were adjusted the *Triple Entente* between Britain, France, and Russia was established (1907).

Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1908 a Young Turk revolution drove out Abdul Hamid; and, in the confusion which followed, Bulgaria declared her complete independence, Prince Ferdinand taking the title of king. Austria at the same time threw over the Treaty of Berlin and annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina. This cynical disregard of treaty obligations led to strong protests from the Powers of the *Triple Entente*. Russia had not yet recovered from her disastrous war with Japan, but she began to move troops in conjunction with Serbia, and threatened war. Germany immediately warned Russia that she would stand by Austria in a conflict of arms. Britain and France did not consider that the maintenance of the Berlin settlement justified a European war, and Russia dared not act alone. The result was enhanced prestige for the Central Powers at Constantinople.¹

The Agadir Incident. The next disquieting incident occurred on the West Coast of Africa. In 1911, a year after the death of his uncle, Edward VII, the Kaiser sent the gunboat *Panther* to Agadir on the pretence that German interests were threatened by the extension of the

¹ The Kaiser had been coquetting with Turkey since his accession. His first State visit was paid to the Sultan (1889). In 1896 the Armenian atrocities horrified Europe, but Germany and Austria stood aloof from the other Powers when the latter sent protests. Similarly, when the Cretan question led to war between Greece and Turkey in 1897, Germany and Austria refrained from co-operation with the other Powers in forcing the Sultan to grant autonomy to the island under Prince George of Greece. The crowning point was reached when, in 1898, the Kaiser went again to Constantinople, paid fulsome compliments to "Abdul the Damned" (as a British statesman called the Sultan), and posed as the staunch friend of Turkey and the protector of Mohammedanism. The Sultan, in return, allowed him to construct the Bagdad railway, and connect it up with the lines from Berlin and Vienna.

French protectorate in Morocco. But a German naval station on the Atlantic seaboard was a direct menace, in case of war, to the great trade routes. The British Government showed unexpected firmness and sent a destroyer also to Agadir. France would not yield one jot of the powers conferred on her at Algeciras, and the Kaiser had perforce to give way and recall the *Panther*.

With a magnanimity which was little deserved, France granted a slice of her Congo territory to Germany in compensation, and with this the latter had to be content. But German *amour propre* was profoundly stirred. It was "determined that such a thing should never happen again." In 1912 the Reichstag passed a Bill making huge additions to both the army and the navy, and in the following year imposed a capital levy to provide the sinews of war. Next time, Germany was to be too strong to be put off with a sugar-coated pill of mere compensations.

The fact is that the colonies which Germany had founded had turned out to be failures. She had started late in the race, and all the best and most productive portions of the earth's surface had already been acquired and developed by the older colonizing nations.¹ Furthermore, Bismarck was probably correct when he spoke of his countrymen as worthless for colonization. Much might have been done with the German possessions had their resources been carefully developed, for many of them were no worse than some of the British colonies when first acquired. But the German emigrants preferred to settle in lands already owned by other nations than to do pioneer work in their own colonies. The few who did go to German-owned lands proved bad and unsympathetic administrators, and there was constant trouble with the natives. Notwithstanding lavish expenditure on the part of the German Government, colonial enterprise proved a gigantic failure. Nevertheless, the Kaiser persistently dreamt of a world-wide Empire.

¹ See *Main Currents of European History*, Professor Hearnshaw.

The Austrian *Drang nach Osten* had for its object an outlet on the Aegean Sea. But the Kaiser fixed his ambitions on access to the Persian Gulf. Hence his flattery of the Sultan, resulting in (1) the predominant influence of the Central Powers at Constantinople, (2) the re-organization of the Turkish army by German officers, and (3) the construction of the Bagdad Railway. Domination over the Balkan States was all that was needed to complete the Teutonic cordon from the North Sea to the Indian Ocean.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CONVULSION OF EUROPE

THE Austro-German policy in the East was not destined to go forward without checks and serious complications.

Italy and Tripoli. In the autumn of 1911 Italy seized the Turkish province of Tripoli, between Tunis and Egypt. The Central Powers, allies of both Italy and Turkey, were in a difficult position. To side with Turkey meant the break up of the *Triple Alliance*; to side with Italy meant the alienation of Turkey and the rending of the Teutonic net cast over the Near East. They, therefore, maintained a strict neutrality.

The Balkan Wars, 1912 and 1913. Taking advantage of Turkey's preoccupation, the Balkan States formed a League¹ for the purpose of undoing the work of the Berlin Congress of 1878. Austria, as we have seen, had already violated the Treaty in her own interest, but here was a movement which, if successful, would upset all her plans. In October, 1912, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece declared war on Turkey. The Turks speedily made peace with Italy, but the Allies were surprisingly successful. Albania and Macedonia were overrun, Thrace was invaded, and Adrianople captured. The Turks were compelled to conclude a humiliating peace with the Balkan States, by which they lost all their territory in Europe with the exception of one small strip of country, including Constantinople.

The Central Powers immediately set themselves to break up the formidable Balkan League. Through their machinations, the Allies soon quarrelled over the division

¹ One of the prime movers in this scheme was the Greek statesman, M. Venizelos.

of the spoils. Austria declared that under no circumstances would she consent to Serbia's retaining her share of Albania, which gave her an outlet on the Adriatic. Serbia had perforce to yield, but asked Bulgaria to grant her an additional slice of Macedonia, by which she might gain access to the Aegean. King Ferdinand, secretly backed by Austria, refused any concession, and Serbo-Bulgarian hostility revived. The Balkan League was crumbling when Russia intervened with an offer of arbitration, which was accepted by the Bulgarian Cabinet. But Ferdinand, arrogantly confident of victory, suddenly fell on the Serbs, and precipitated the disastrous conflict known as the Second Balkan War (June, 1913). The Serbs gallantly repulsed the treacherous attack; Greece stood by them; Rumania joined them, and attacked Bulgaria from the north; while the Turks again took up arms and re-captured Adrianople. Surrounded by enemies, Bulgaria was forced to yield a considerable portion of Macedonia to Serbia, and Adrianople to Turkey. By a friendly arrangement with Greece, Serbia was allowed access to the sea at Salonika.

This settlement, arrived at by the Treaty of Bucharest (August, 1913), was a disappointment to Austria, in that it left Serbia stronger than ever, and closely allied to Greece. She thereupon suggested to Italy a joint attack by the *Triple Alliance* on Serbia. The voice was the voice of Austria, but the hand was the hand of Germany. This is borne out by the following Secret Memorandum on the Strengthening of the German Army: "We must allow the idea to sink into the minds of our people that our armaments are an answer to the armaments and policy of the French. We must accustom them to think that *an offensive war* on our part is a necessity, . . . neither ridiculous shriekings for revenge by French *chauvinists*, nor the Englishmen's gnashing of teeth, nor *the wild gestures of the Slavs* will turn us from our aim of protecting and extending *Deutschtum* all the world over."

A pretext for war soon presented itself.

Sarajevo. On 28th June, 1914, the Austrian Archduke, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo in Bosnia. Austria, pretending that the Serbian Government was responsible for the dastardly crime,¹ immediately dispatched an ultimatum, threatening war unless her demands were accepted within forty-eight hours. The plain object of the terms, which were outrageous, was "to render war inevitable."² Serbia yielded, only pleading that some of the conditions (which would have virtually destroyed her independence) should be referred to the Hague Court of Arbitration. Britain and Russia intervened, the former suggesting a conference of the Powers, the latter less severe terms and more time for consideration. But Germany declined to attend a conference, saying that it would be an insult to Austria, whose resentment against Serbia was justifiable. Austria was adamant and, on 28th July, declared war on Serbia. Russia began mobilization; and Germany, though her own had been proceeding since the 21st inst., sent a peremptory ultimatum to Petrograd demanding demobilization. At the same time, Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, approached Great Britain with the "infamous proposal" that she should remain neutral if Germany promised, in the event of war, to take nothing more from France than her colonies (29th July). German troops were immediately sent to the French frontier, and France met this hostile move with similar measures. Notwithstanding a strong personal appeal of the Tzar to the Kaiser, Germany declared war on Russia (1st August), and insolently

¹ This is hardly likely, for the Archduke was the first and only Hapsburg with Slav sympathies, for which reason he was regarded with suspicion by the Vienna Government. It is more probable that though the assassination was carried out by Slavs, the plot was hatched by Magyars.

² So the German ambassador at Constantinople stated privately before the dispatch of the ultimatum,

demanded the intentions of the French Government. Receiving the reply that "France would consult her own interests," Germany declared war (3rd August). Britain's attitude was as yet uncertain; but, on 4th August, Germany committed the unpardonable act of violating Belgian neutrality, long guaranteed by the Powers, including herself. Germany might regard such a pledge as a mere "scrap of paper," to be torn up when it suited her convenience; but Britain took a different view of her obligations.¹ An influential section of the Press had maintained that neither technically nor morally was she bound to espouse the cause of France, but she would have been eternally dishonoured had she stood aside and permitted the invasion of Belgium.² One course was alone possible; and, on 4th August, Great Britain declared war on Germany.

§ THE GREAT WAR

Striking through Belgium, the German legions turned the left flank of the French armies, which were concentrated on the Alsace-Lorraine front. It is clear that France never contemplated the repudiation of treaty obligations, and had credited her foe with a like standard of morality. But to the German "it was necessary to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, and to strike a decisive blow as soon as possible"; and, in face of this necessity, Belgian neutrality was of no account. A small British force—only 100,000 men—under Sir John French, quickly and secretly slipped across the Channel, and took up a position at Mons, while French troops were hastily

¹ Bethmann-Hollweg expressed surprise to the British ambassador that England should make war for "a scrap of paper," and asked him if he had "counted the cost."

² Similarly, the opening of the Scheldt, contrary to Treaty obligation, brought Britain into the First Coalition against France (1793).

dispatched to Charleroi in the hope of blocking the road to Paris.

But, outnumbered four to one, the Allies fell back, stubbornly contesting every inch of ground, and maintaining their order. This retreat, hurried as it was, enabled General Joffre, the French Commander-in-Chief, to change his dispositions and reform his line.

The Battle of the Marne. Having drawn the German hordes to within striking distance of the capital, he suddenly counter-attacked. At the same moment the Army of Paris was hurled on the German right flank, and the invaders were driven back all along the line. They took up a strong position on the north side of the Aisne, and from this it was impossible to dislodge them. Joffre then tried to turn the enemy's right, but as fast as the French advanced German troops occupied a parallel line. The Germans also made a counter-move by hurrying up reserves to attack and capture Antwerp and extend their line to Ostend and Dunkirk. There ensued a race northward to secure the Channel ports, and eventually both armies dug themselves in on a line reaching from the North Sea to Switzerland.

First and Second Battles of Ypres. The Germans made two furious attempts to break through the Allies' line at Ypres (October to November, 1914, and April, 1915),¹ but on both occasions they were foiled, and Dunkirk and Calais saved. German might was now sorely needed elsewhere, and operations on the Western front settled down into dreary trench warfare, inglorious and full of hardship.

Russian Victories and Defeats. In the meantime, Russia had swept through East Prussia, and invested Königsberg. Here was dire affront to Hohenzollern

¹ At the Second Battle of Ypres the Germans sprang a dastardly surprise on the Allies in the use of poison gas. The situation was saved chiefly through the steadiness and determination of the Canadians.

dignity. Von Hindenburg, to whom the topography of East Prussia was, as an open book, was sent to save the royal city, and the Russian "steam-roller," which was confidently expected to reach Berlin within a month, was smashed at the Battle of Tannenberg (26th August). Hindenburg had cleared East Prussia, but, when he tried to turn the tables and invade Russia, he was thrown back. In two subsequent attempts to capture Warsaw, he was again heavily defeated.

On 1st November, 1914, Turkey joined the Central Powers. Her intervention was a serious blow to the Entente, diverting Russian troops to the Caucasus, and endangering Britain's control of Egypt and the Suez Canal.

Against the Austrians, the armies of the Tzar, under Russky and Brusiloff, were completely successful. Lemberg was captured, and the advance carried almost to the gates of Cracow. This brought Germany to the aid of her feeble ally about the time of the Second Battle of Ypres. On this occasion Hindenburg had with him Ludendorff and von Mackensen. The Russians were driven back, and Warsaw was at length captured (5th August, 1915). This seemed serious enough, but it was not all. Hindenburg in the north, and Mackensen in the south pressed on. The Russians lost the flower of their army on the slopes of the Carpathians, and, by the end of the year, they were 200 miles east of Warsaw, where they rallied and held their own.

Serbia Overrun. After two months' hard fighting, Serbia had also been overrun (December, 1915) by an Austro-German army, aided by the Bulgarians, whose king, Ferdinand, had made a secret treaty with the Kaiser in July. But in the meantime Italy had thrown in her lot with the Entente Powers (May, 1915), in the hope of wresting "*Italia Irredenta*," the Trentino and Trieste, from Austria.

The Battle of Loos. Just before the fall of Warsaw, "Kitchener's Army"¹ began arriving on the northern sector of the Allied Line to reinforce the British Regulars and Territorials, the latter of whom had, almost to a man, volunteered for foreign service. On 25th September, the "Kitcheners" showed those splendid fighting qualities which usually distinguish British soldiers, in the fierce Battle of Loos. A considerable bite was taken out of the German line, but at great cost. This battle was fought in conjunction with a French advance in Champagne which was very successful.² Both attacks were in accordance with Joffre's "nibbling" plans.

The Disaster of Kut. But these gains in the West were completely discounted by two serious disasters in the East. A blow, intended to be fatal, was aimed at Turkey by two simultaneous attacks, one in Mesopotamia, and the other in the Dardanelles. A totally inadequate Indian force landed in the Persian Gulf, and fought its way up the Tigris. General Townshend, its commander, was set the impossible task of taking Bagdad. Gallantly he pressed on, but suffered defeat at Ctesiphon, within sight of his goal (29th November, 1915). Townshend retreated, but was surrounded at Kut-el-Amara, where he held out for five months.

Gallipoli. The attack on the Dardanelles had for its object the capture of Constantinople, which would enable the Western Powers to send Russia the arms and munitions of which she was sadly in need. But, unfortunately, an Anglo-French fleet informed the Turks of the

¹ Kitchener's appeal for 500,000 volunteers at the outbreak of the war had been answered with enthusiasm. Two million young men responded to their country's call. But all had to be trained and equipped, and this took nearly a year to accomplish. At first they drilled with broomsticks and had no uniforms, eloquent testimony to the unpreparedness of Britain.

² The hero of Fashoda, now General Marchand, led a fine charge of French Colonials in this battle, and was severely wounded.

plan by a premature bombardment of the Straits, six weeks before the expeditionary force under Sir Ian Hamilton forced a landing on the Gallipoli Peninsula (25th April, 1915). As the Canadians in the Second Battle of Ypres had given the lie to the German theory that the British Empire was a "colossus with feet of clay," so now the Australians and New Zealanders gave proof of the vigour and loyalty of the Colonies. The gallantry displayed in the landing of the British regulars at Cape Helles was equalled, if not surpassed, by that of the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps north of Gaba Tepe, and that place gained a new and honourable title—the "Anzac" shore. But during the six weeks' grace between the naval bombardment and the landing, the Turks had fortified the Peninsula, under the direction of German gunners and engineers, and poured in vast reinforcements. For eight months the gallant attackers struggled against insuperable difficulties, but, by the end of the year, the hopelessness of the situation was realized, and the survivors were secretly evacuated, under the very nose of the exhausted enemy. The failure was all the more pitiable as it was so nearly a success. It cost the British 100,000 casualties, but practically annihilated the Turkish regular army. It was at this moment that the Austrians and Germans were driving the Serbs back to the sea, and most of the Gallipoli divisions were landed at Salonika, where they were reinforced by French and Italians. This force, though greatly hampered by the pro-German king, Constantine, until his forced abdication in 1917, prevented Greece from falling into the hands of the Central Powers.

1915 was, on the whole, a disastrous year for the Entente, but it was not without its disappointments for Germany. Britain's command of the sea had been made manifest, and, by the end of the year, nearly all the German colonies were captured.

Naval Operations. Hardly had war been declared

when the Germans scattered mines broadcast in the North Sea, contrary to the accepted usages of war. This was rendered easier because Heligoland, since its acquisition by the Germans, had been converted into an impregnable fortress with large harbour accommodation.¹ In August, 1914, the German cruisers and destroyers sheltering behind the island were enticed forth and almost annihilated in the Battle of the Bight. After this the Germans relied mostly on their submarines, which, owing to the large number of easy targets at sea, were fairly effective. The vaunted "High Seas" Fleet had sought safety in the Kiel Canal, but twice, towards the end of the year, a few battle-cruisers slipped out and bombarded towns on the East Coast of England. On 24th January, 1915, Admiral Beatty avenged these raids by sinking the *Blücher* and dealing so severely with her companions that they did not dare to come out again.

At the beginning of the war several German cruisers were still at sea. In the Mediterranean, two fine ships—the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*—ran before the *Gloucester*, and escaped to the Dardanelles. In the Indian Ocean the daring exploits of the *Emden*¹ as a commerce raider aroused great interest, until she was destroyed by the *Sydney*, of the Australian squadron. On the Chilian coast a German squadron, including the powerful cruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, sank the *Good Hope* and the *Monmouth* in the Battle of Coronel (1st November, 1914). The *Glasgow*'s speed enabled her to escape, and she took part in a second battle off the Falkland Islands (7th December), when the whole German squadron was caught and sunk, with the exception of the *Dresden*, which was destroyed later. Gradually the seas were cleared of German ships.

¹ At first, the German naval men generally showed a sporting spirit. This was particularly so in the case of the commander of the *Emden*, who always landed the crews of the ships he sank.

The Sinking of the "Lusitania." On 18th February, 1915, Admiral von Tirpitz announced a blockade of Britain, to be enforced by submarine warfare. The seriousness of this inhuman warfare on non-combatants, women, and children, was clearly realized when, on 7th May, 1915, the splendid Cunarder, *Lusitania*, was torpedoed nearing Queenstown. She sank within 20 minutes, and 1,125 people were drowned. This outrage brought protests from President Wilson, and it was the beginning of the end of American neutrality.

Execution of Nurse Cavell. Americans in Europe bestirred themselves to restrain German "frightfulness," and, in particular, earned the gratitude of Britain for their efforts on behalf of Nurse Cavell, who was executed in Brussels for aiding the escape of Belgian soldiers (12th October, 1915).

Fighting in the Air. Zeppelin raids on the East Coast, London, and Paris began in 1915, and caused much damage and serious loss of life. But the great "gas-bags" were singularly ineffective in accomplishing anything of military value. Their victims were mainly women and children; few soldiers were killed, and munition works escaped scathless. British and French airmen soon took their measure, and so many were brought down that, by the end of 1916, they were superseded by powerful bombing planes called "Gothas."

So successful were the French and British Flying Corps in aerial scouting, and so superior were their machines to the German "Taubes" that, at the end of 1915, the Germans built the "Fokkers," very fast defensive planes, which for a time were very effective. But before the Battle of the Somme the Allies had regained an undisputed "ascendancy," and from that time never lost it.

Verdun and the Somme. Having triumphed in the East, the Germans, in 1916, turned their attention once more to the West. Verdun, perhaps the most important point

in the French line, became the centre of violent attacks. From the middle of February till the end of June, the battle raged, but the stout defenders stubbornly held their ground. Then, on 1st July, the British, now under Sir Douglas Haig,¹ launched a great offensive on the Somme. Village after village fell; the elaborate trench systems of the Germans were captured one by one. In the latter part of the battle, "the tanks" made their first appearance, and the Germans were pressed back to Bapaume (October, 1916). In November an attack on the Ancre resulted in further gains north of Albert. During the winter and early spring the Germans carried out a strategic retirement, "according to plan," to the *Hindenburg Line* running past Cambrai and St. Quentin. In the meantime, the French regained much of the ground lost north of Verdun.

The Battle of Jutland. While the Battle of Verdun was at its height the German "High Seas" Fleet at length left the Kiel Canal, and steamed up the coast of Jutland, well out to sea. On that day (31st May) the British Grand Fleet, engaged in one of its periodical "sweeps," was steaming south in two divisions, Admiral Beatty leading with the cruiser squadron, and Admiral Jellicoe with the Battle Fleet, some miles behind. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Beatty came in touch with the German cruisers. They turned back to meet their main fleet, and a fierce running fight ensued, in which heavy losses were suffered by both sides. When the German battleships came in sight, Beatty drew off and steered north, and the enemy pursued him until they came upon Jellicoe steaming at top speed to the aid of Beatty. Then the pursuers became the pursued, and, in turning, Beatty got between the Germans and the coast, thereby threatening their line of retreat. It was now 6 o'clock, and the light was beginning

¹ Sir John French resigned at the end of 1915, and received the title of Viscount French of Ypres.

to fail, but, within the next two hours, Jellicoe "administered severe punishment" in spite of a dense smoke-screen with which the destroyers tried to cover the big ships. At 9 o'clock, the German fleet disappeared from view, and, during the night, Jellicoe, fearing torpedo attacks, drew off. In the morning not a German ship was to be seen. They had escaped total destruction, but there can be no doubt as to which side gained the victory, for the Germans never again left the Canal.

Death of Lord Kitchener. A few days after the Battle of Jutland, Lord Kitchener set out for a conference which was to be held in Russia. His ship, the *Hampshire*, probably struck a mine or some wreckage, and went down off the Orkneys (4th June). A violent storm was raging at the time, which made rescue practically impossible, and only some half-dozen of the ship's company managed to reach the shore. Kitchener's tragic end created a great sensation in Britain, and many refused to believe that he was drowned, until, at the end of the war, it was proved without doubt that he was not a prisoner in Germany.

Brusiloff's Capture of the Bukovina. In June, 1916, the Russians, under Brusiloff, attacked and routed the Austrians in Volhynia. They advanced over 20 miles in two days, but were eventually held up, near the Galician frontier, by large German reinforcements sent by Hindenburg. Further south the Russians were completely successful. They overran the Bukovina and occupied its capital, Czernowitz. In three weeks they had captured over 200,000 prisoners.

The Rumanian Débâcle. These great victories, and the successes at Verdun, and on the Somme, encouraged the Rumanians to declare war on Austria (27th August). Unsupported by the Russians, who had shot their bolt, and attacked in the rear by the Bulgarians as they advanced into Transylvania, they were driven back by a strong Austro-German army. At the same time, Mackensen

swept through the Dobrudja. The Rumanians blew up the great bridge, ten miles long, over the Danube, but Mackensen effected a crossing at several points higher up, and invaded Wallachia. Bucharest was abandoned (1st December), and the whole of Wallachia was soon in the hands of the enemy. With the aid of the Russians, Moldavia was held, but Rumania lost more than half her territory.

The Capture of Bagdad. Townshend was starved out, and forced to surrender Kut on 21st April, 1916. But this disaster was soon reversed. In December, General Maude advanced once more, routed the Turks, re-captured Kut, and, giving the beaten enemy no rest, occupied Bagdad (11th March, 1917). His tragic death¹ followed almost immediately on his entry into the city, but the Turks had been thoroughly beaten, and the whole of Mesopotamia was soon captured.

Changes in 1916. After the failure at Verdun, Hindenburg, the idol of the Germans, was made Chief of the Imperial Staff. On 21st November the aged Francis Joseph died, and was succeeded by his grand nephew, the Archduke Karl, as Emperor of Austria. In December, there were three notable changes—(1) Joffre resigned, and was made a Marshal in recognition of his services; (2) Beatty succeeded Jellicoe in command of the Grand Fleet; (3) and Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister of Britain. The latter had made his name as a War Minister when he was set the task of increasing the production of munitions. The attack on the village of Neuve Chapelle, a few weeks before the second Battle of Ypres, had cost the British army enormous casualties, and had failed owing to shortage of ammunition and the lack of high explosive shells. The Press took the matter up with the result that a Coalition Ministry was formed (May, 1915) by bringing some

¹ The cause of his death was cholera, contracted after attending a fête given in his honour. It has been suspected that the ceremonial cup offered to him on that occasion contained the infection.

Conservatives into the Asquith Government, and at the same time a new Ministry of Munitions was established with Lloyd George at its head. Soon there was an ample supply of ammunition of all kinds. At the beginning of 1916, Britain adopted conscription for the first time in her history. There was, however, a growing feeling that the Government did not "get on with the war." On 16th December, Asquith resigned, and Lloyd George formed a second Coalition Ministry on even broader lines than the first. His Government certainly showed "push" and ability in dealing with a difficult situation.

The Russian Revolution. There now occurred an event which was fraught with very serious consequences to the Western Allies. In February, 1917, a revolution broke out in Russia. The army, disaffected and war-weary, sided with the revolutionaries. The Tzar was dethroned, and, with his family, hurried away into Siberia, where, later, they were murdered. A republic was proclaimed, and a Liberal Government came into power, to be overthrown, in May, by the Socialists led by Kerensky, who abolished the death penalty, and proclaimed universal brotherhood. Strange to say, when the Republic was declared, many in England and France expected a revival of Russian military power. Brusiloff launched a great offensive towards Lemberg, which for a fortnight, swept all before it. Then the Russians simply turned and fled. Kerensky, an eloquent demagogue, undermined the discipline of the army by establishing committees of the rank and file to elect their own officers, and direct and control all operations. Wholesale desertions followed, and the Germans, taking advantage of this state of affairs, quickly overran Lithuania, and, pressing on, captured Riga on 5th September, 1917. In October, the Bolsheviks, extreme communists, seized the reins of power, and Kerensky fled. They abolished individual rights, confiscated all private property, and re-enforced the death penalty. They

immediately made peace with the Germans, and turned their "Red" armies on all "counter-revolutionaries," in which category they included the long-suffering and harmless *bourgeois*.

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. In December, the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was drawn up, by which vast territories, including the Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, and the Baltic Provinces were surrendered to the Central Powers. This is how the Germans understood a peace on the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities."

The Unlimited Submarine Warfare and American Intervention. If Germany had triumphed in the East, she made a mistake in the West which led to her own undoing. In January, 1917, she declared "unrestricted submarine warfare" on all ships, including neutrals, trading with Britain or France. This irritated America beyond endurance, and, on 11th May, President Wilson declared war on Germany. Britain rose to the occasion. Her merchant seamen would not be frightened off the seas, and put up strenuous fights, which on many occasions were eminently successful, while submarine-hunting became a fascinating pastime for the "Q" boats. The "Dover Patrol" rendered sterling service in checking night raids from the submarine bases on the Flanders coast, and, not content with this, in the following year, made plans for bottling up the pests in their lair. On the night of 22nd April, 1918, the cruiser *Vindictive*, accompanied by a flotilla of smaller boats, including two Mersey ferry-boats, slipped into Zeebrugge. The *Vindictive* landed a party, who destroyed all the works on the mole, while three old cruisers, filled with concrete, were sunk, blocking the fairway of the Bruges Canal. An obsolete submarine was blown up under the viaduct connecting the mole with the land. All this was done under heavy machine-gun fire, yet the *Vindictive* and the ferry-boats got away with the other crews, who were taken off in motor boats and dinghies.

A fortnight later, the *Vindictive*, was sunk at Ostend, partially blocking the harbour. For twenty years she had sailed the seas, but her last three weeks were the most glorious of her existence.

The Battle of Arras. The Germans, who, after the Somme battles, had retreated to the *Hindenburg Line*, were not permitted to rest there in peace. On 9th April, 1917, a fresh attack was made from Arras, which gained the Vimy Ridge, commanding the surrounding country, captured ten miles of the *Hindenburg Line*, and straightened out the British position from Cambrai to Lens. At the same time, the French attacked north of the Aisne, and gained the "Chemin de Dames." But when they attempted to press on and take Laon, they were held up. This was all the more disappointing since a decisive victory had been expected as the result of these two battles.

The Third Battle of Ypres. The next move, in the north, though it gained a large amount of ground, was equally indecisive. The object of this thrust was to drive the Germans out of Flanders, and regain the sea-coast of Belgium. As a preliminary, Messines ridge, to the south of Ypres, was blown up (7th June). This was a record explosion of over a million pounds of ammonal, the shock of which was distinctly felt in England. Immediately after the explosion, the Irish divisions and the New Zealanders rushed forward, and secured all that was left of the ridge and the villages beyond.¹ Ypres being now safe, final preparations were made for the advance, which began on 31st July. After three months' hard fighting in wretched weather, which frequently made operations impossible, the British came to halt on Passchendaele Ridge (6th November).

The Cambrai Check. Soon after this an attack on

¹ In this battle Major Redmond, brother of the Irish National leader was killed. The National and Ulster divisions fought here side by side.

Cambrai, which broke through the *Hindenburg Line* in front of that town, was hailed as a great victory in London, where the church bells were set ringing. "They are ringing their bells now, but soon they will be wringing their hands."¹ Cambrai was not taken, and a surprise counter-attack regained for the Germans much of the ground they had lost.

The Allied offensives had been very expensive, and it was plain nothing more could now be done. The Russian collapse was freeing more and more Germans for use on the Western front, and the French and British forces were now further depleted in consequence of a great disaster suffered by the Italians.

The Disaster of Caporetto. During 1915-16 Italy had succeeded in carrying war into the enemy's country, towards Trent and across the Isonzo. But the Alps presented an insuperable obstacle, and progress was exceedingly slow, indeed the position soon became one of "stalemate," similar to that on the Western front. In the autumn of 1917 Austria planned a "knock out" blow, which was to bring Italy to her knees. Large German reinforcements drawn from Mackensen's thrice-victorious army were massed opposite a weak point on the Isonzo front. On 24th October the attack was delivered, and the Italians were routed at Caporetto. The Austro-Germans made huge captures of men and guns, and within a fortnight swept on almost to Venice. They were checked at last on the Piave, and, when the Italians received large French and British reinforcements, the offensive gradually died out (December, 1917).

The German Final Effort. In the early spring of 1918 the Germans again held the advantage of numbers in the West. American troops began to arrive in France, but not in sufficient numbers to counter-balance the German

¹ Walpole's soliloquy when he was compelled by the people to declare war on Spain in 1739.

transfers from the Russian front. For almost three months, there was an ominous silence all along the line. It is curious that during that period of quiet, no attempt seems to have been made to strengthen the weak points in the British position. There were nearly half a million reserves in England, while, north and south of St. Quentin, General Gough was holding 42 miles with only 14 divisions of infantry, and General Byng, to the north of him, had 15 divisions on a front of 27 miles. On 21st March, Gough suddenly found himself attacked by 54 divisions of picked German troops. A determined resistance was offered, but nothing could withstand such odds; Gough was forced back and Byng with him.¹ By the end of April the British line had been bent back almost to Amiens, but that vital point in the Anglo-French position was held. Now, at last, the Allies came to the wise decision of establishing "unity of command," and General Foch was named Generalissimo of all the armies in the West. In the north, south of Ypres, the Germans broke through a Portuguese division (9th April), and made a big dent in the Allied lines. Messines was retaken, Ypres became the point of a dangerous salient, and the Germans pressing on, tried to "hack their way" through to Calais. The British were now fighting with their "backs to the wall," but this thrust also was held up at Kemmel Hill. Then followed the last and most desperate attempt to finish the war with a German triumph. On 27th May the French line between Rheims and Soissons was broken, and the enemy pressed on to the Marne, which they crossed at Château Thierry. Here they met the Americans, who, with wild shouts of "Lusitania," hurled them back across the river at the point of the bayonet (15th July).

¹ A battalion of Seaforth's was wiped out, covering the retirement of the "Glorious 51st" Highland Division, which had distinguished itself at Loos, the Somme, the Ancre, Arras, Ypres (3rd battle) and at Cambrai.

The German Defeat. Foch had been biding his time. He now applied the pincers to the German wedge pointing towards Paris, and crushed it in (18th to 20th July). The retreat soon became a rush to escape from the neck of the bottle before it was too late. Foch, now a Marshal, had at last a preponderance of men and guns, for by this time the Americans had arrived in full force. His plans were well thought out, and he gave the enemy no rest. On 8th August a second blow was struck, this time on the great bulge towards Amiens. The Germans were completely surprised. The "war of movement"¹ now set in in real earnest. "Whippets," fast little tanks, accompanied by cavalry, frequently broke through, and were on the enemy's rear scattering the gunners, and intercepting reinforcements, while the infantry were rushing the first lines. The ground lost in this sector was regained in three weeks, and still the "hammer blows" went on. On 26th September the French and Americans began to drive up from the south through the Argonne, while the British pressed on over the *Hindenburg Line*, which was soon "merely an unpleasant memory."² The Allies were far beyond it, and close up to the Belgian border. In the meantime, on 28th September, a third offensive had been launched in the north. This resulted in the "liberation" of Lille and a large strip of Belgium, and involved a German retreat from the sea coast. On 17th October King Albert and his Queen steamed into Ostend in a British destroyer.

Bulgaria and Turkey give in. While the defeat of Germany was progressing in the West, her Eastern allies were crushed by two decisive blows. On 15th September the Salonika force attacked the Bulgarians all along the line. The post of honour in the attack was entrusted to

¹ During the German thrusts, Hindenburg had gloried in the "war of movement." It was now clear that two could play at this game.

² F. M. Bridge, *The Great World War*.

the Serbs, who, supported by French and Italian troops, broke through the centre, and carried all before them. At the same time, the British and Greeks invaded Bulgaria from the south. The Bulgars, thoroughly disheartened and war-weary, surrendered unconditionally (30th September), and King Ferdinand went into exile.

Towards the end of 1917 General Allenby, who had conducted the Battle of Arras, was given command of the British-Egyptian army, operating in Southern Palestine. On 31st October he defeated the Turks at Beersheba, and occupied Jerusalem (9th December). In the autumn of 1918 he resumed hostilities, turned the enemy's flank on the Mediterranean coast, and sent his cavalry round to cut off the retreat. They succeeded in rounding up 100,000 Turks in batches, and Damascus was captured (30th September). A month later, Aleppo, the capital of Turkey-in-Asia, was occupied by Indian cavalry, who also cut the Bagdad railway-line. This was the most brilliant campaign of the war, and showed the value of cavalry, used with judgment. The Turks asked for terms, and an armistice was arranged (31st October).

The Defeat and Capitulation of Austria. In June the Austrians had renewed their offensive of the previous year in Italy, but only to be heavily defeated. In October the Italians, supported by a British Army Corps, turned the tables, crossed the Piave, and drove the invaders helter-skelter out of Venetia. The collapse, even for an Austrian army, was almost unprecedented, and was the immediate cause of a revolution, in which the "ramshackle empire" went to pieces. Hungary declared her independence, and Czechs and Slovaks of Bohemia and Moravia set up the Czecho-Slovak Republic, the Croats and Slovenes, the Bosnians and Herzegovinians joined with Serbia in a Jugo-Slav State, thereby realizing the Illyrian idea, which had come to such a sorry end in 1848. In Vienna the Red flag was hoisted, and a republic proclaimed.

Austria had, in the meantime, sued for peace, and, on 14th November, she was granted an armistice, the chief condition of which was a free passage through Austria for allied troops against Germany.

The German Revolution, and End of the War. It was plain to the German High Command that their armies in the field were on the point of breaking up, and that peace must be made at any cost. When this became known, the Berlin mob, stirred up by mutinous sailors from the "High Seas" Fleet, started rioting, and demanded the abdication of the Kaiser. After some hesitation, William bowed to the inevitable, and both he and the Crown Prince fled to Holland (9th November). Three days previous to this the white flag had been hoisted at the front, but while negotiations proceeded, the Allies pressed on. The British had reached Mons and Maubeuge, the Belgians were in Ghent, and the Americans in Sedan, when the French drove the last of the enemy out of France. The Germans, herded together in the Ardennes, with their railway communications in utter confusion, "were capable neither of accepting nor refusing battle." At length the envoys agreed to accept the terms offered them, and at "the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month" 1918, the "Cease Fire" was sounded. The Great War was over.

§ AFTER-WAR PROBLEMS

The chief terms of the Armistice were—

All German forces to be across the Rhine within 31 days, and a neutral zone to be set up on the right bank, with bridge-heads at Mainz, Coblenz, and Cologne.

The surrender of 5,000 guns, 30,000 machine-guns, and 2,000 aeroplanes.

5,000 locomotives, 150,000 wagons, and 5,000 motor lorries in good order to be handed over to the Allies.

All submarines to be handed over within 14 days.

Surrender of 10 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 8 light cruisers, and 50 destroyers.

The submarines were sent to Harwich at the rate of twenty a day.

On 21st November, the battleships, cruisers, and destroyers surrendered in the Firth of Forth, and were afterwards interned at Scapa Flow in Orkney. But, on 21st June, 1919, they were treacherously scuttled by their crews, and Germany had to send, as compensation, five more light-cruisers with floating docks, cranes, and dredgers (10th November, 1919).

Making the clause relating to railway stock an excuse, the German authorities made no provision for the conveyance of prisoners-of-war to the frontiers. Weak from the ill-treatment they had endured, the unfortunate men were left to tramp home as best they could, in bitter winter weather.

The Treaty of Versailles, etc. On 28th June, 1919, peace was formally concluded in the Chamber of Mirrors, Versailles, where the German Empire had been proclaimed in 1871. Alsace and Lorraine were given back to France, together with the coal-mines in the Saar Basin, which were ceded to her in compensation for the destruction of the French mines. Poland was re-constituted a free and independent State with the addition of Posen and part of West Prussia. Dantzic was made a free port under the administration of Poland.

Czecho-Slovakia got part of Silesia, the rest being reserved for a *plébiscite*. Later, when the vote was taken, certain districts, not in every case contiguous, were for incorporation with Germany, others with Poland. The League of Nations finally made a satisfactory adjustment between the two Powers. North Schleswig threw in her lot with Denmark, as the result of another *plébiscite*.

Germany's overseas possessions were divided between the Allies, Britain gaining all the African colonies with the

exceptions of part of Togoland and of the Cameroons, which went to France. The Pacific islands north of the Equator were given to Japan, while Australia and New Zealand shared those to the south.

The German army was reduced to 100,000 men, the navy to 6 battleships, 6 light-cruisers, 12 destroyers, and 12 torpedo-boats. No submarines nor air-force were allowed her.

Reparations were to be paid by Germany for all damage done during occupation of Allied territory, and all merchant ships sunk by submarines were to be replaced.

The whole cost of the war, including pensions to the disabled and to the dependents of the fallen, as also the cost of the armies of occupation on the Rhine, was to be paid by Germany within a period of 36 years. The estimated amount of these reparations and indemnities was £18,520,000,000.

Austria by her recognition of Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, and Jugo-Slavia, and her cession of the Trentino and Trieste to Italy, was entirely cut off from the sea. At the Treaty of St. Germain (10th September, 1919) she guaranteed all her resources to repair the ravages caused by the war.

Bulgaria renounced all claims to Macedonia and Thrace in the Treaty of Neuilly (27th November, 1919). Her army was limited to 20,000 men, and she was condemned to pay an indemnity of £90,000,000, and the cost of the army of occupation.

Under the Treaty of Sèvres (10th August, 1920), the Turkish Empire was confined, in Europe, to the city and district of Constantinople, and, in Asia, to Anatolia.

The Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus were put under international control. Greece got Macedonia and Thrace, most of the islands off the Turkish coast, and Smyrna in Anatolia. Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia were made independent States. France was given a "mandate" to see to the administration

of Syria, while Britain accepted similar responsibilities for Palestine and Mesopotamia.

Other alterations in the map of Europe have been recognized.

Rumania has gained Bessarabia, the Bukovina, and Transylvania.

Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Ukraine have each of them established a precarious independence.

In the main, the new arrangements honour the principle of "self-determination," but they have not brought peace and contentment to the world.

There has been serious fighting between Russia and Poland, but both have now recognized Ukranian independence and made peace (Treaty of Riga, March, 1921).

Italians and Slavs have come to blows over the possession of Fiume, seized by D'Annunzio. The Italian Government however, has been conciliatory, and has discountenanced the poet-adventurer.

Hungary has exercised a disturbing influence in Central Europe. By refusing to surrender territory assigned to Austria under the treaties she nearly involved herself in war with Czecho-Slovakia. The ex-Emperor Karl made two attempts to regain his throne through Hungary. After the second failure he was banished to Madeira, where he died (April, 1922).

Against the Treaty of Sèvres, the more vigorous Turks, under the leadership of Kemal Pasha, have revolted, and have established at Angora a rival government to that at Constantinople which the Allies control. In 1921, the Greeks tried, without success, to suppress the "Kemalists" who eventually turned the tables on them and drove them out of Smyrna (September, 1922). The Greeks are, however, regarded with some suspicion, founded on their behaviour during the Great War, and on their recall of the pro-German Constantine to the throne after the death.

of King Alexander (December, 1920). Constantinople again abdicated, and the powers agreed to a Conference on the basis of the recession of Smyrna and Eastern Thrace to Turkey.

Britain has acted up to the principles of "self-determination" in granting to Egypt complete independence, retaining only the right of guarding the Suez Canal with her own troops. She has also come to an agreement with Ireland (December, 1921) similar to the "compromise of 1867" between Austria and Hungary. This treaty recognizes a Northern Government for six counties in Ulster, and constitutes the rest of the country an Irish Free State acknowledging only the sovereignty of the King of Great Britain.¹

The economic condition of Europe, owing to the Great War, is appalling. Austria is on the verge of bankruptcy, and the Allies (America alone dissenting) have agreed to make no demands on account of reparations for twenty years. The Reparations Commission, appointed under the Versailles Treaty, met in January, 1921, at Brussels, and fixed the total sum to be paid by Germany at £6,600,000,000. Germany has defaulted several times in her instalments, and the Entente between France and

¹ In 1913 Mr. Asquith put a Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book, but the N.E. corner of Ulster refused to accept it, began gun-running, and formed a volunteer force. The rest of Ireland followed suit, and civil war seemed imminent. But when the Great War broke out, the National and Ulster Volunteers went to the front and fought as units in the British army. In the meantime, the "physical force" party, which aimed at complete independence, gained control of the Sinn Féin movement founded by Mr. Arthur Griffith. In Easter week, 1916, the Sinn Féiners rose in rebellion contrary to orders issued by Mr. Griffith. The rising was the work of a few irresponsible extremists, but it soon attained serious proportions in Dublin. The British Government, engaged in a life-and-death struggle on the Continent, naturally adopted severe measures of repression, and numerous executions followed, in spite of protests by Mr. John Redmond and other moderates. As a result nearly the whole population became Sinn Féiners of the extreme type. Crushed for the moment, the Republican movement broke forth

Britain has been imperilled by differences of opinion as to the treatment to be meted out to her.

The condition of Russia, the possibility of trade relations with her, and the establishment of a "pact of peace" between all countries have also been under consideration.

Numerous conferences have been held, but no solution has been found for the problems which now confront Europe.

In 1921 a conference was held at Washington between Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States, to discuss disarmament. These Powers agreed to reductions and limitations of above-water ships, but France declined to consider any limitation of submarines, or military establishments. The use of poison gas was condemned, but no action to prevent its manufacture has yet been taken. With the one exception of the Washington Conference, America has kept aloof from European entanglements since the conclusion of the war. President Wilson, at Versailles, insisted upon the foundation of a League of Nations, with the object of preventing war in the future. But the American Congress refused to join the League, or to ratify the Treaty, and made a separate peace with Germany.

again with renewed vigour after the German armistice. An Irish Republican Army was formed and carried on a bitter guerilla warfare during which many outrages were committed. An irregular force was recruited in England and sent over to restore order. Nicknamed "Black-and-Tans" because their uniform was partly the black of the Irish constabulary, and partly the military khaki, they soon gained an unenviable notoriety for fierce and senseless reprisals, and matters became worse and worse. At length a truce was arranged which culminated in the Treaty of December, 1921. But the Irish Republican Army split into two factions--the Free-Staters, in favour of the Treaty, led by Mr. Michael Collins and Mr. Griffith, and those who repudiated the Treaty, led by Mr. De Valera. After several unsuccessful attempts to conciliate the latter, the Irish Government, backed by the majority of the country, took measures to assert its authority. In August, 1922, Mr. Griffith died, and within ten days Michael Collins was shot in an ambush. Their policy has been continued by the Government, but with only partial success.

Some fix their hopes of the future on the League of Nations. The British Prime Minister has said, "unless the League succeeds, civilization is doomed." Up to the present, the League's activities have been limited to questions demanding adjustment among the smaller nations. No question directly touching the interests of the Great Powers has come before it, and it will continue to be ineffective so long as any great nation remains outside its membership, or refuses to be bound by its decisions. Others regard democracy as a pledge of peace. The Great War is said to have resulted in the triumph of democracy over autocracy. The power of emperors and kings has vanished, yet some of the newly-formed republics have shown a spirit hardly less aggressive than the monarchies they have supplanted.

There is yet another force to which, in conjunction with a democratic and universal League of Nations, many look with confidence. The "reunion of Christendom," should it become an accomplished fact, postulates a return to all that was best in the Mediæval idea of the States of Christendom, in which, while racial and national rights are recognized, all are bound together in a common faith, and influenced towards agreement and mutual understanding by an impartial authority, international and supernational.

But so interwoven are the interests of nations, that the panacea, whatever it is, must eventually produce the United States of Europe, based on the true principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

DYNASTIES AND GOVERNMENTS

The dates given below denote the years in which reigns or governments began, except where periods are indicated.

GREAT BRITAIN

George III	1760	Victoria	1837
George IV	1820	Edward VII	1901
William IV	1830	George V	1910

FRANCE

Louis XVI	1774	Second Republic	1848
First Republic	1792	Second Empire : Napoleon III	1852
First Empire : Napoleon I	1804	Third Republic	1870
Louis XVIII } Restored	1814		
Charles X } Monarchy	1824		
Louis Philippe }	1830		

AUSTRIA

Joseph II 1765 } Elective	1806	1 Francis I	Hereditary
Leopold II 1790 } Emperors	Ferdinand IV	1835	Emperors
	of the		of
1 Francis II 1792 } Holy Roman	Francis Joseph	1848	Austria
	Empire	Karl . 1916 }	

PRUSSIA

Frederick William II	1786
Frederick William III	1797
Frederick William IV	1840
1 William I	1861

GERMAN EMPIRE

1 William I	1871
Frederick III	1882
William II	1888
Republic	1918

RUSSIA

Catherine II	1762	Alexander II	1855
Paul	1796	Alexander III	1881
Alexander I	1801	Nicholas II	1894
Nicholas I.	1825	Republic	1917

SARDINIA

Victor Amadeus III. . .	1773
Charles Emmanuel IV . .	1796
Piedmont annexed to France	
"	1798
Victor Emmanuel F. . .	1814
Charles Felix . . .	1821
Charles Albert . . .	1831
¹ Victor Emmanuel II . .	1849

NAPLES AND SICILY

Ferdinand IV. . . .	1759
Joseph Bonaparte . .	1806
Murat	1808
Ferdinand (restored). .	1814
Francis I	1825
Ferdinand II ("Bomba")	1830
Francis II.	1859

KINGDOM OF ITALY

¹ Victor Emmanuel II . .	1861
Humbert	1878
Victor Emmanuel III . .	1900

DENMARK

Frederick IV	1808	Christian IX	1863
Christian VIII . . .	1839	Frederick VIII . . .	1906
Frederick VII . . .	1846	Christian X	1912

SWEDEN

Gustavus III	1771	Oscar I	1844
Gustavus IV	1792	Charles XV	1859
Charles XIII	1809	Oscar II	1872
Charles XIV(Bernadotte)	1818	Gustav	1907

NORWAY

With Denmark till . .	1814	Haakon VII	1905
With Sweden	1814-1905		

HOLLAND

¹ William V (Stadtholder)	
Batavian Republic . .	1795
Louis Bonaparte (king). .	1806
Annexed to France . .	1809

BELGIUM

The Austrian Netherlands	
annexed to France. . .	1795

KINGDOM OF NETHERLANDS

¹ William I (restored Stadtholder) . .	1814-1831
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¹ William I	1831	Leopold I	1831
William II	1840	Leopold II	1865
William III	1849	Albert	1909
Wilhelmina	1890		

SPAIN

Charles IV	1788
Joseph Bonaparte	1808
Ferdinand VII	1814
Isabel II	1833
Republic	1868
Amadeo I	1870
Republic	1873
Alphonso XII	1875
Alphonso XIII	1886

PORTUGAL

Regency	1792
John VI	1816
Donna Maria	1826
Dom Miguel	1828
Donna Maria (restored)	1833
Pedro V	1853
Luiz I	1861
Carlos I	1889
Manuel II	1908
Republic	1910

TURKEY

Selim III	1789
Mustapha IV	1807
Mahmud II	1808
Abdul-Medjid I	1839
Abdul-Aziz	1861
Murad V	1876
Abdul-Hamid II	1876
Mohammed V	1909
Mohammed VI	1918
Abdul Medjid II	1922

SERBIA

Milosh Obrenovich	1817
Michael	1839
Alexander Karageorgevich	1842
Milosh Obrenovitch	1858
Michael	1860
Milan	1868
Alexander	1889
Peter Karageorgevich	1903
Alexander	1921

GREECE

Otto (of Bavaria)	1830
George I (of Denmark)	1863
Constantine	1913
Alexander	1917
Constantine (restored)	1920
George II	1922

RUMANIA

Alexander (Couza)	1861
Charles (Hohenzollern)	1866
Ferdinand	1914

BULGARIA

Alexander (of Battenberg)	1879
Ferdinand (of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha)	1887
Boris	1918

Popes

Pius VI	1775
Pius VII	1800
Leo XII	1823
Pius VIII	1829
Gregory XVI	1831
Pius IX	1846
Leo XIII	1878
Pius X	1903
Benedict XV	1914
Pius XI	1922

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED.

ADAMS, J. B. C.	<i>Rise of France</i>
ATTERIDGE, A. H.	<i>Marshal Murat</i>
BELLOC, H.	<i>Marie Antoinette</i>
"	<i>Last Days of the French Monarchy</i>
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